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THE
 NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
 AND
 JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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Factum abili—monumenta manent.—Ov. Paul.

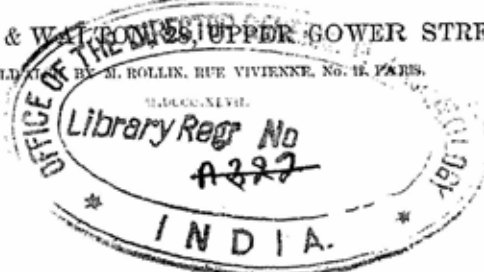
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AND
AN ADMIRER OF NUMISMATIC ART,
THIS,
OUR NINTH VOLUME,
IS
RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED.



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ERRATUM.

Page 113, line 7, *for* "and coming upon the whole force," *read* "and one of his commanders coming upon the whole force."

55.

61.



101

106.

110.



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.
 AA Q O TA TE TE A A TA
 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.
 NI AP NI IAP NI PAK A NI AP A

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON THE COINS CALLED "CISTOPHORI."

[The following memoir from the pen of M. Dumersan, of the Bibliothèque du Roi, is extracted from the "Cabinet de l'Amateur et de l'Antiquaire," a monthly review but little known in this country. As few cabinets are without specimens of these curious coins, we have thought a translation of the memoir would prove acceptable to the readers of the N. C.]

WHEN Father Panel first published in 1734 a tract on Cistophori,¹ he thought that these coins had been struck to commemorate the celebration of the games called Sabasia which the towns of Lydia and Phrygia were in the habit of holding in honor of Bacchus.²

Eckhel refuted this unfounded supposition, and proved that the Cistophori, the number of which was very considerable, and which were in use throughout all Asia, were struck for the common welfare of the cities of that country, whose fruitful territory and extended commerce rendered necessary the use of a coinage of known type and uniform

¹ These coins are thus denominated from the cistæ or mystical baskets used in the mysteries, and which are always found figured on the right side of the cistophori. Vide Suidas on the word Κίσση; Clem. of Alex. Protrept, etc.

² Bacchus had also the surname of Sabasius. The games called Sabasia were peculiar to Asia (Vid. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.).

weight, which should inspire confidence and facilitate mercantile transactions.³

We adopt Eckhel's opinion, thinking with him that a coinage relating to the worship of Bacchus would naturally be adopted by a country in which that divinity was peculiarly honoured.

Till the present time, the cistophori have been classed in all cabinets under the different cities to which they belong, and have been thus separated from each other.

We have recently classed them, in the cabinet of France, in one separate series, as we have done the medals of Corinth, those of the Achaian league, and those staters of gold, the topography of which is uncertain, notwithstanding the analogy of their types to those of the various cities of Asia.

The classification of these coins, of which several are inedited, has facilitated their comparison, and led to several corrections and new discoveries. The cistophori described by Mionnet, and which are in the cabinet of France, belong to the following cities: Atarneus and Pergamos in Mysia, Ephesus in Ionia, Sardis and Tralles in Lydia, Apamea and Laodicea in Phrygia.

Mionnet also mentions cistophori of Nysa in Caria⁴ and Philadelphia in Lydia.⁵

Those of Nysa are not in the cabinet of France; one belonged to M. Rollin, the other was published by Sestini, *Lettere Num.* tom. ix. p. 24, tab. ii. fig. 27.

³ The ordinary weight of a cistophorus is 12 grammes and two or three decigrammes more or less.

The drachm containing four grammes and five decigrammes, the cistophori must therefore be tridrachms.

⁴ *Descript. de Médailles*, suppl. tom. vi. p. 517, Nos. 394, 395.

⁵ *Descript. de Médailles*, tom. iv. p. 97, No. 523.

That attributed to Philadelphia is erroneously so placed. We have restored it to the city of Pergamos, to which it evidently belongs; as the monogram, composed of the letters ΠΕΡΓ, which is constantly found on the cistophori of that city, sufficiently proves. Of this we shall again speak on another page.

The countries of which we have cistophori are Mysia, the Troade, Lydia and Phrygia.⁶ The coinage of cistophori continued in the principal cities of the Asiatic provinces after the Roman conquest,⁷ as the *Conventus Juridici* of the people of those countries was established by the Roman proconsuls who severally held their forum there. We find, at a later period, the names of Roman magistrates on the cistophori, conjointly with those of Greek magistrates. According to all accounts, the districts under the authority of these tribunals each furnished its proportion of silver for the coinage of the cistophori; and this was taken in payment of the tribute exacted of them in that coin by the Romans.

The time when cistophori were first struck can hardly be determined with accuracy. Certain it is, that this kind of money was already known in Asia about the year 564 A.V.C.—190 years B.C.; since it is on record that the Consul Manlius Acilius Glabrio, having defeated Antiochus the Great in that year, carried, in his triumph, 248,000 cisto-

⁶ Panel attributed cistophori to the island of Crete: but this opinion has been abundantly refuted by Neumann and Eckhel, who declare the coins bearing the word ΚΡΗΤΑΙΩΝ, which Panel published from Goltzius, to be false.

⁷ Attalus III. on his death, in the year 133 B.C., bequeathed his estates to the Romans. This king of Pergamos possessed Mysia, Ætolia, Ionia and Phrygia. The Romans afterwards annexed to it Caria, Lycia and the island of Rhodes.

phori. Lucius Cornelius Scipio also took 331,070 cistophori from the same Antiochus, and Æmilius Regillus 151,000 from his fleet.

The large number of these coins found, proves that they were spread over the whole of Asia like those of the Athenians. The commerce of Asia Minor extended to far distant countries; and the fertility of its territory brought large revenues into its coffers, of which Cicero speaks (*Pro Lege Manilia*). As a proof that this coin was circulated in distant parts, it is said that when Consul Manlius Vulso conquered the Gallo-Greeks⁸ he took from them 250,000 cistophori.⁹

Cicero also speaks of cistophori in another place, where he says, "I have in Asia the sum of 400,000 sestertii in cistophori."¹⁰

He says, in another letter to Atticus, "I have written to the city quæstors on my brother Quintus's affairs; take care that they answer, and see what hope there is of obtaining the denarii, otherwise we shall be obliged to content ourselves with Pompey's cistophori."¹¹

⁸ The Gauls settled in Asia Minor, who were called by the Greeks Helleno-Galatians, and by the Romans Gallo-Greeks, after several contests with Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, and Attalus, king of Pergamos, finally established themselves in that part of Phrygia bordering on Cappadocia and Paphlagonia which then took the name of Galatia. This event took place 241 years B.C., and 37 after their arrival in Asia.

⁹ Titus Livius, enumerating the sums carried in the triumph of Consul Manlius Vulso over the Gallo-Greeks, specifies 127,000 Attic tetradrachms, 16,000 golden Philippi, and 250,000 cistophori. *Lib. xxxix.*

¹⁰ In cistophoro, in Asia habeo ad sestertium bis et vicies. *Ad Attic. lib. ii. ep. 2.*

¹¹ Scripsi ad quæstores urbanos de Q. fratris negotio; vide quid narrent, et quæ spes sit denarii; an cistophoro Pompeiano

The ordinary type of the cistophori, and from which they derive their name, is a mystical cista on the obverse with a serpent issuing from it surrounded by a crown of ivy and vine leaves.

The reverse presents a quiver, near which is seen a bow surrounded by two entwined serpents. We do not agree with those authors who have thought this quiver to be the mystic fan.¹²

Serpents appear to have been the symbol of Asia. Pomponius Mela¹³ says, "The figure of Asia Minor holds in its hands a serpent, perhaps because serpents abound in that country."

On one of the coins of Augustus, which bears on the reverse the figures of two serpents, we read ASIA SUBACTA.

On a quinarius of the same emperor, we find Victory seated on a mystical cista, near which appear two serpents, and the legend ASIA RECEPTA COS. VI. PONT. IMP. VII.¹⁴ The same type is also found on a gold coin of Vespasian.

On a silver denarius of Hadrian, the personification of

jaceamur.—Ad Attic. lib. ii. ep. 6. Pompey brought out of Asia, after the war with Mithridates, besides other immense riches, 17,050 talents of coined silver, more than 25,000,000 of our livres (French). It appears that he had placed his cistophori here, and that the quæstors who paid the salaries of the governors of the provinces wished to pay Quintus Cicero in that coin. That governor wished for Roman money.

¹² Panel inclined towards this opinion; and Spanheim (p. 16) thought it to be a cista: they have both been refuted by Winckelmann (*Mon. Antiq. Ined.* No. 53). Vide also Phætre à mystico vanno diversa (*Venuti ad Mus. Albani*, i. p. 77).

¹³ Serpentem manu forsau comprimit Asiæ Minoris typus, quod Asia serpentibus abundaret. (*Pompon. Mela*, lib. i. c. 19).

¹⁴ Eckhel, *Mus. Vindob.* p. 82.—*Doct. Num.*, lib. vi. p. 82.—*D'Ennery*, 256.

Asia stands on the prow of a vessel and holds a serpent.¹⁵ Serpents may have become the symbol of Asia, after that country had adopted them on its coinage, for the purpose of calling to mind the worship of Bacchus, which they carried to a great extent.

The Bacchantes in the mysteries were crowned with serpents. The serpent was one of the symbols of initiation into the Bacchanalian orgies.¹⁶ For further remarks on this subject, vide Clement of Alexandria and Nonnus on the *Dionysiaca*.

The worship of Bacchus was much honoured in Asia; and the name of that god was often given as a surname to its princes.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, was surnamed Evius, Nysius, Bacchus and Liber. Antigonus, king of Asia, and Antiochus VI., king of Syria, also bore the name of Dionysius. Mark Antony took the same name. This prince also coined cistophori bearing his own figure.

The cistophori of all ages are uniform in type, except those of later times, when the Romans altered the primitive type. There was, however, no change but in those bearing the name of the Roman magistrates.

¹⁵ Gessner, *Imp.* 84. Oisell, *Sel. Num. tab.* 16, fig. 84.

¹⁶ Bacchantes serpentibus coronatos. Signum Bacchicorum orgiorum esse initiatum serpentem.—Clem. Alex. in *Protrept.*

Catalogue of Cistophori in the Cabinet of France.

MYSIA.

ATARNEA.

- 1.—A cista half opened with a serpent escaping from it, surrounded by a wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—Two serpents entwined round a quiver ornamented with a flower resembling the acrostolium. Above is the monogram of Atarneia and the letter marked No. 2. in the plate.—To the right is a lighted torch.¹⁷ AR. 7.

Du Mersan, Coll. Allier de Hauteroche, pl. xii. No. 2.
Mionnet, Suppl. No. 94.

- 2.—A similar one; instead of the torch, a thyrsus encircled by a serpent.¹⁸ AR. 7.

Mionnet, 95.

Sestini, Descr. del Mus. Hedervar. ii. p. 82. pl. xvii. 1.

- 3.—The same. AR. 7.

- 4.—The same. AR. 7.

PARIUM.

- 5.—Cista half opened with a serpent escaping from it, surrounded by a wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

¹⁷ The symbols are represented in the annexed plate, with the number of each coin attached.

¹⁸ Sestini and Mionnet (following him) have described it as a sword instead of a thyrsus, encircled by a serpent; but the figure has no similarity to a sword. It is a baton surmounted by a kind of ball, undoubtedly a pine apple, which is usually seen on the top of thyrsi. The character No. 3, to the left, has been figured by Mionnet as a Koph, but it cannot be that letter: it is a symbol with which we are unacquainted.

R.—Two serpents entwined round a quiver containing a bow. To the left, a monogram composed of the letters ΠΑ, fig. No. 4. To the right, an owlet enclosed in a square, beneath which is an Α. AR. 8.

Described by Mionnet as an Apamean coin, No. 183.

6.—The same: on the field to the right is a bull's head with two garlands. AR. 7.

Mionnet, *ibid.* 184.

7.—The same: on the field to the right, a tripod surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

Mionnet, *ibid.* 117 suppl.

8.—The same: to the right, the parazonium. AR. 9.

The first three of these coins were described by Mionnet as belonging to Apamea in Phrygia. They differ too much from the other cistophori attributed to that city to be kept in that classification. The cistophori of Apamea always bear to the left, on the field of the coin, the letters ΑΠΑ, the initials of the name of the city, the names of the magistrates at full length, and near the serpent to the right, the double flute, which is found on several coins of that city, in the hands of Marsyas (Mionnet, Nos. 219, 220 et seq.).

I remove the coins above described to Parium in Mysia, of which city they bear the initials in the monogram No. 4, composed of the letters ΠΑ. The same monogram is also found on the little bronze medal assigned to Parium by Mionnet (No. 409); and on another, of which he makes mention in the Cousinery collection (No. 393). The cabinet of France possesses one very similar, on which only the letter Π appears, and which bears the same type as those of No. 655 et seq. in the supplement.

Obv.—An ox walking.

R.—ΠΑΡΙ, altar.

With regard to the symbols accompanying the principal figure on the cistophori which I attribute to Parium, we find them, both types and symbols, on various coins of that city; amongst others, the owlet, with the letters ΠΑΡΙ at the back of Medusa's head (Mionnet, Suppl. 664). An ox's head as a symbol, under an ox walking (Mionnet 382).

We thus increase the rich numismatology of Parium, a city of importance, as it was among the number of those which coined cistophori.

PERGAMOS.

9.—Ordinary type.

R.—Ordinary type. To the left of the quiver, the monogram No. 5. composed of the letters ΠΕΠΓ. To the right, a victory.

Mionnet, 470. AR. 8.

10.—The same; to the right, a club. AR. 8.

11.—The same; to the right, a palm branch. AR. 8½.

12.—The same; above the quiver, ΑΣ. To the right, Medusa's head. AR. 7.

13.—The same; above the quiver, the monogram No. 7. composed of the letters ΔΥ. To the right, a club the head of which terminates in a caduceus. AR. 6.

14.—The same; to the left, the monogram No. 6. composed of the letters ΠΕΡ. This monogram has one stroke less than usual. To the right, ΝΙ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 469.

15.—The same; above the quiver, the letters ΑΣ. To the right, a thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 473.

16.—Exactly the same. AR. 9.

- 17.—The same ; above the quiver, monogram No. 8. composed of the letters ΑΠΛ. AR. $7\frac{1}{2}$
- 18.—The same ; the letters above the quiver, ΑΣ. AR. 9.
- 19.—The same ; ΑΣ. AR. $7\frac{1}{2}$
- 20.—The same ; ΑΜ. AR. 7.
Mionnet, 472.
- 21.—The same ; ΒΟ. AR. $7\frac{1}{2}$.
- 22.—The same ; monogram, No. 19. composed of the letters ΔΡ. AR. 7.
- 23.—The same ; ΚΑ. AR. 7.
Mionnet, 171.
- 24.—The same ; ΑΥ. AR. 8.
- 25.—The same ; ΜΑ. AR. 7.
- 26.—The same ; ΝΙ. AR. 7.
- 27.—The same ; ΜΗ. A lion's skin upon a club. AR. 8.
- 28.—The same.
R.—To the right, a thyrsus. Above the quiver, ΑΠ and the monogram No. 9. composed of the letters ΠΡΥΤ. A star. AR. 7.
- 29.—The same.
R.—Monogram No. 5. ΑΠ ; monogram No. 9, a star. Thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 7.
- 30.—The same.
R.—ΑΡ ; monogram, No. 9. AR. 7.
- 31.—The same.
R.—ΒΑ. Id. AR. 7.
- 32.—The same.
R.—ΔΗ. Id. AR. 7.
- 33.—The same.
R.—ΔΙ. Id. AR. 7.
- 34.—Exactly the same. AR. 8.
- 35.—The same.
R.—ΕΥ. Id. AR. 8.

36.—The same.

R.—KA. Id. AR. 8.

37.—The same.

R.—KP. Id. AR. 8.

38.—The same.

R.—KT. Id. AR. 7.

39.—The same.

R.—ME. Id. (Panel, p. 7). AR. 7.

40.—The same.

R.—ME; monogram No. 10. composed of the letters
ΠΡΥΤΑ. (Panel, p. 51). AR. 7.

41.—The same.

R. MH. AR. 7.

42.—The same.

R.—ΜΟΣ; monogram No. 9, composed of the letters
ΠΡΥΓ within a wreath of laurel. AR. 8.

43.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; monogram N

44.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ. Id. AR. 8.

45.—The same.

R.—ΠΞ. Id. AR. 7.

46.—The same.

R.—TH. Id. AR. 7.

47.—The same.

R.—TEY. Id. AR. 7.

48.—The same.

R.—ΦΙ. Id. AR. 7.

Mionnet (Descr. tom. 4. p. 97. No. 523) described this coin as belonging to Philadelphia in Lydia, through want of attention to the monogram of Pergamos.

49.—Exactly similar; AR. 7.

M. Borell, by the same inadvertency, attributed this coin to Philomelium in Phrygia.

50.—The same.

Monogram, No. 11.

51.—The same.

R.—Quiver and serpents, C. PVLCHER. PROCOS.¹⁹
MHNOΔΩPOΣ. (Panel, p. 107). AR. 7.

52.—The same.

R.—Q. METELLVS PIVS SCIPIO IMPER.²⁰
The Roman eagle between two entwined serpents.
AR. 8. (Panel, p. 52.)

The letters above the quiver are undoubtedly the initials of the magistrates' names from No. 12 to 27. No title is added; but after that number appears the monogram No. 9, composed, of the letters ΠΡΥΤ which indicates the dignity of Prytanis.²¹ On the coin numbered 40 the monogram consists of the letter Α in addition to the others ΠΡΥΤΑ. On that marked No. 42, this monogram is enclosed within a wreath of laurels.

¹⁹ Pulcher was proconsul in Asia about 700 A.V.C.; he is mentioned by Cicero, but only as a prætor.

²⁰ This legend betokens the son of Proconsul Scipio Nasica, who was adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, and who was afterwards proconsul of Asia, about 705, A.V.C.

²¹ The Prytanes at Athens and in other cities formed the principal part of the senate. The president of the senate is sometimes denominated Prytanis (Thucyd. lib. vi. ch. 14). At Rhodes the Prytanis was the head magistrate. At Corinth the Prytanes were chosen annually (Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 4). At Tarsus their authority lasted but six months. (Dio Chrys. Orat. xxxi. p. 424). In several inscriptions the title of Prytanis is added to those of other offices (Vide Vandal, Dissert. de Prytane Græc. p. 396).

Vaillant, on a coin of Caracalla struck at Ægialus, thus explains the legend, ΕΠ. ΑΡΧ. ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ Β.

It appears to have been doubted whether this monogram was that of a title or propername, for which Vaillant (*Méd. Grecq.*) mistook it, in describing a coin of Cumæ in *Æolia*.²² But Eckhel doubts not, that on cistophori these letters signify the title of the magistrate whose initials precede them.

The title of Prytanis is rarely found on coins; for except on cistophori, we only find it on those of Cumæ in *Æolia*, Smyrna, and Miletus in *Ionía*, and Synnada in *Phrygia*.

THE TROADE.

DARDANUS.

53.—Cista, serpent, and wreath.

R.—Monogram No. 19. composed of the letters ΔΑΡ;
quiver between two serpents. Above, the monogram
No. 13. To the right, a bunch of grapes. A.R. 7.

This coin assigned at first by Wiczai to Adramytium in Mysia has been restored by Sestini to Dardanus. It has been lately purchased for the cabinet of France; it formed a part of the Wiczai-Hedervar Museum. It was marked in that museum as belonging to the city of Adramytium,

ΕΠΙΤΑΡΕΩΝ sub Archonte Prytanide Epicratis filio, under the Archon Prytanides, son of Epicrates, instead of, under the Archon and Prytanis Epicrates.

Spanheim has also interpreted this word as a proper name on a coin of Smyrna (*De Præst. Num.* p. 700).

with the expression of a doubt whether it might not belong to Dardanus; but Wiczai, the author of the description preferred a city in Mysia, because of its neighbourhood to Pergamos, where cistophori are in great abundance.

Sestini, in his new description of the Hedervar Museum, transferred it to the city of Dardanus, which we think correct. He mentions a similar cistophorus in the Bavarian Museum bearing above the quiver, the letters ΔΙΟΓ, Diogenes, and to the right, the figure of an owl, and another with the single letter Δ, tom. ii. pl. 17. Nos. 2 and 3.

54.—The same.

R.—The monogram No. 19, composed of the letters ΔΑΡ;
above the quiver, ΚΑΣ; to the right, an ear of corn.
AR. 7.

IONIA.

EPHESUS.

55.—Cista, serpent, and wreath.

R.—Quiver and serpent; to the left, ΕΦΕ, and a quiver or vase. Vide plate No. 56. AR. 8.

Mionnet, No. 193.

56.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; to the right of the quiver, the numeral letter Β (the number two); bust of Diana of Ephesus.
Vide plate No. 57. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 194.

57.—Another very similar. AR. 8.

58.—The same.

R.—To the left, ΕΦΕ; to the right of the quiver, the idol Diana of Ephesus at full length with its supports.
AR. 8.

59.—The same.

R.—To the left, ΕΦΕ; above, Κ (the number twenty);
to the right, a side-faced bust of Diana turned
towards the right. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 195.

60.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, AK (twenty-one); to the right, a double cornucopia. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 196.

61.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, ΛΔ (thirty-four); above the quiver, a tripod; to the right, a torch. AR. 9.

Mionnet, 197.

62.—The same.

R.—EΦE; to the right of the quiver, a Victory bearing a crown. AR. 8.

63.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MΔ (forty-four); above the quiver, a thunderbolt; to the right, a torch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 198.

64.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, ME (forty-five), above the quiver, the staff of Esculapius surrounded by a serpent; to the right, a torch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 199.

65.—Exactly the same. AR. 8.

66.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MH (forty-eight); above the quiver, a head crowned with ears of corn and poppies. AR. 7.

Mionnet 200, (instead of a head Mionnet has put a basket).

67.—Another specimen in better preservation. AR. 7.

68.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MΘ (forty-nine); above the quiver, a Victory holding a palm branch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl. 263.

69.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, NB (fifty-two); above the quiver, Persea's flower.

Mionnet, Suppl. 264.

70.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, NT (fifty-three); above the quiver,
another quiver. AR. 7.

Mionnet, Suppl. 265.

71.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, NZ (fifty-seven); above the quiver,
a pilaster formed of the god Priapus. Vide plate
No. 72. AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl. 266.

72.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, ΞΓ (sixty-three); above the quiver, an
ear of corn between two cornucopiæ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 201.

73.—The same.

R.—ΞZ (sixty-seven). AR. 8.

74.—The same.

R.—ΞE (sixty-five). AR. 7.

Mionnet, Suppl. 267.

75.—The same.

R.—ΞZ (sixty-seven); above the quiver, a palm-branch
between two cornucopiæ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, Suppl. 269.

76.—The same.

R.—ΞE (sixty-six); above the quiver, a torch between
two cornucopiæ. AR. 8.

77.—The same.

R.—ΞI (seventy). AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl. 270.

78.—The same.

R.—EΦE; quiver and serpents, PROCOS.²² ΣΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ.
AR. 7.

Mionnet, 204.

(To be resumed.)

²² The proconsul's name is wanting.

II.

NUMISMATIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ACTS OF
THE APOSTLES.§ 1.—A CENTURION OF THE BAND CALLED THE
ITALIAN BAND.—Acts x. 1.

Ἐκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς.
Considerable doubt exists as to what is here meant by the σπείρα Ἰταλική, or "Italian band." It is referred by several writers to the *Legio Italica*, or *Italica prima* so often mentioned by Tacitus;¹ but we know from Dion Cassius² that this legion was raised by Nero, and, consequently, that it was not in existence when the events narrated by St. Luke took place. Nor can it have been either of the other two "*Legiones Italicae*," as they were raised by Marcus Aurelius.³

We know from Josephus, that the Roman troops serving in Syria and Judæa were mainly composed of levies raised on the spot.⁴ We learn, however, that there were volunteer *Italian* cohorts serving in Syria by an inscription in Gruter.⁵

¹ Hist. lib. i. cap. 59, 64, etc.

² Lib. lv. cap. 24.

³ Dion. Cass. lib. lv. cap. 24.

⁴ Νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου στρατεύματος ὄντος, καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος, καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν κατειλέγμενον. Ant. xiv. 15, 10. He says the same thing in his Bell. Jud. lib. i. 17, 1.

⁵ Corpus Inscr. ccccxix. 1; Orellius, Ins. Lat. Select. cap. xiv. 8vo. Turrici, 1828.

L . MAESIO . L . F . POL
 RVFO . PROC . AVG
 TRIB . MIL . LEG . \overline{XV}
 APOLLINARIS . TRIB
 COH . MIL . ITALIC . VOLVNT
 QVAE . EST . IN . SYRIA . PRAEF
 FABRVM . BIS

The *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική* was then most probably a cohort serving in Syria and quartered at Cæsarea, composed of natives of Italy, and called *Ἰταλική* to distinguish it from those which consisted of troops raised in Syria.

Of the legions serving in Syria and Judæa before the time of Vespasian, little is known. Tacitus informs us that the 6th legion was in Syria early in the reign of Tiberius.⁶

The Legions actually serving in Syria at various times, were, according to Tacitus, as follows:—

1. Legio III. Gallica. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 74., lib. iv. cap. 39.
2. „ IV. Scythica. Ann. lib. xv. 6, 7, 26.
3. „ VI. Ferrata. Ann. xv. 6.
4. „ XII. Fulminifera. Hist. v. 1.

Of these the first (Gallica) is mentioned on coins of Tyre of S. Severus, Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, and Valerianus.⁷

LEG. IV. is not mentioned on coins of Syria or Judæa.

LEG. VI. occurs on a coin of Otacilia Severa, struck at Damascus.⁸

LEG. XII. is not mentioned on coins of Syria or Judæa.

⁶ Ann. lib. ii. cap. 79.

⁷ Vaillant Num. in Colon. percussa. Mionnet, Descr. tom. v. p. 428.

⁸ Mionnet, Descr., tom. v. p. 293.

The legions in *Judæa* were, according to Tacitus,

1. Legio V. Macedonica. Hist. lib. v. cap. 1.
2. „ X. Hist. lib. v. cap. 1.
3. „ XV. Apollinaris. Hist. lib. v. cap. 1.

LEG. V. Macedonica is mentioned on a coin of Gallienus, and coupled with LEG. VIII., on a coin of Augustus struck at Berytus,⁹ and on a coin of Philip struck at Heliopolis in Cœle Syria.¹⁰

LEG. X. occurs on a coin of Ptolemais, with three other Legions.¹¹

LEG. XV. is only mentioned on coins of M. Antonius.

Eckhel¹² thinks that from LEG. VIII. being coupled with LEG. V. on the coins of Berytus from Augustus to Gallienus, it must be added to the four legions mentioned above as quartered in Syria, admitting, however, that it is against the authority of Dion Cassius, who says it was quartered in Germania superior,¹³ and he adds that Schöpflein mentions a tile inscribed LEG. VIII. AVG. found near Strasburg; but as it is only an inference of Eckhel drawn from the appearance of LEG. VIII. on coins of Berytus and Heliopolis, that the eighth legion was in Syria; and since it is unsupported, and history is against it, we must seek some other explanation for the appearance of LEG. VIII. joined to LEG. V. on those coins.

⁹ Ibid. tom. v. p. 337.

¹⁰ Ibid. tom. v. p. 304.

¹¹ Leg. VI., IX., XI. Mionnet, tom. v. p. 475.

¹² Doct. Num. Vet. vol. iii. p. 335.

¹³ Οἱ δὲ ὄγδοι Αὐγούστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντος.
lib. iv.

§ 2.—“NOW, ABOUT THAT TIME, HEROD THE KING STRETCHED FORTH HIS HANDS, TO VEX CERTAIN OF THE CHURCH.”—Acts xii. 1.

This was Agrippa the First,¹⁴ the son of Aristobolus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great, by whom, after his father's death, he was sent to the court of Tiberius at Rome. The affection which that depraved emperor is said to have entertained for him, exhibits him in an unfavourable light; and his youth appears to have been spent in a most licentious and profligate manner. He was the favourite of the empress Antonia, and the prince Drusus; but on the death of Drusus, all his intimate friends were ordered by Tiberius to quit Rome, that their presence might not keep alive his affliction. Overwhelmed with debts, Agrippa quitted Rome and sought a private life, from which he was induced to emerge by his uncle Herod the Tetrarch, who appointed him to an office in the city of Tiberias, and gave him a large sum of money. But this was soon dissipated, and his continued extravagance exhausted the liberality of Herod, who at length refused him further assistance, and reproached him for his prodigality. Whereupon Agrippa quitted Judæa, and repaired to Rome, having, to accomplish this, borrowed a large sum of money from his friends. Landing in Italy, he repaired to Capræa, where Tiberius was wallowing in sensuality and crime. The emperor, whose grief for the loss of Drusus time had overcome, received him kindly, and even gave

¹⁴ This prince is generally styled *Magnus*; and certainly if the most consummate craft procured for his grandfather that designation, Agrippa had some claim also to be called “great.”

him an apartment in his palace. But Agrippa's creditors were clamorous in their demands, and sent letters to Capræa, when Tiberius ordered him to quit the place. Having obtained from the empress Antonia a sum sufficient to extricate him from his difficulties, he succeeded in re-establishing himself in the favour of the emperor. He soon after attached himself to Caius Caligula, son of Germanicus, and grandson of Antonia, and became his constant companion. Fresh troubles, however, awaited him. One day, while riding with Caius, he incautiously expressed a hope that Tiberius would soon die, and leave the empire to that prince. This was overheard by the charioteer, who being afterwards detected in a theft, intimated that he had something of importance to communicate to the emperor. Tiberius at first refused to hear the man, but at length yielded to the entreaty of Agrippa himself. Agrippa was immediately put in chains, and remained in custody until the death of the emperor, which happened six months afterwards, when the condition of Agrippa was changed from that of a captive to a king. Caligula sent for him to his palace, placed a diadem on his head, and appointed him king of Gaulonitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, and gave him, besides, the tetrarchy of Lysanias, the iron chain by which he had been fastened to a soldier being exchanged for a gold one of equal weight. In the second year of Caligula, Agrippa proceeded from Rome to take possession of his kingdom. He went by way of Egypt, where at Alexandria he met with the memorable insult recorded by Philo. On the death of Caligula (A.D. 41 or 42), Claudius succeeded to the empire, when he at once raised Agrippa to the rank of consul, and gave him Samaria, Judæa, Abila, and a part of Libanus. Agrippa now possessed the entire kingdom of his grandfather Herod the Great. In

the third year of his reign over all Palestine (A.D. 44), he "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church;" and influenced, as is supposed, partly by a desire for popularity, and partly by his zeal for the religion of the Jews, beheaded the apostle James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter. He shortly after celebrated at Cæsarea games in honour of the emperor; and on the second day appeared in the theatre clad in a magnificent robe of silver, to give audience to the Sidonians and Tyrians, when, at the close of an address which he made to them, they saluted him as a god. Instead of reproving his flatterers, he received the impious adulation complacently, and was shortly afterwards seized with violent internal pains, and expired at the end of five days in great torment. This account, which we find in Josephus, agrees in the chief particulars with that contained in the chapter from which the extract at the head of this section is taken.¹⁵

We have now to consider the coins of Herod Agrippa, which confirm the accounts of the historians. Mionnet describes three with the head of Caligula,¹⁶ and four which were struck in the reign of Claudius;¹⁷ but with one exception they are all in indifferent preservation, and contain but portions of the legends.¹⁸ The example here engraved is a coin of great rarity and interest. The obverse bears the head of Agrippa, with the title of Megas—BACIAEYC

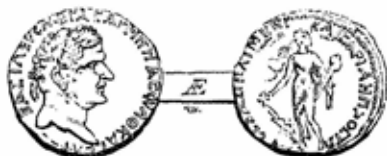
¹⁵ For the events of this prince's life consult Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. ix. 1; and *xix.* vi. 1; *xix.* vii. 5; Suetonius in *Calig.* 38, and in *Claud.* x.; *Dion. Cass.* lv. *Tacit. Ann.* vi.

¹⁶ *Description*, vol. v. p. 568, Nos. 82, 83, 84.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88.

¹⁸ One of these is from Wise's description of the coins of the Bodleian Museum, p. 118, bearing the diademed head of Agrippa. *Rev.* Agrippa, the younger, on horseback, and the remains of a legend $\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\mu\eta\alpha \cdot \tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma \cdot \text{BAC}\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$.

ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ. ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. *King Agrippa the Great, lover of Cæsar.* Ρ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η. ΠΡΟΣ. ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ, i. e. *Cæsarea ad portum Sebastum.* Fortune standing with her attributes.



§ 3.—“THE DEPUTY OF THE COUNTRY, SERGIUS PAULUS.”

Acts xiii. 7.

Ὁς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ. The accuracy of Saint Luke in applying the term ἀνθύπατος to the governor of Cyprus has been called in question by more than one commentator,¹⁹ on the ground that Cyprus was governed by a proprætor, not by a proconsul at the time when Saint Paul visited it; and a passage from Strabo²⁰ has been brought forward, in which, after describing the mission of Marcus Cato to take possession of the island of Cyprus, he adds, ἐξ ἐκείνου δ' ἐγένετο ἐπαρχία ἡ νῆσος, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, στρατηγική. The authors, too, of our version of the New Testament appear to have felt some difficulty here, as, instead of giving the word ἀνθύπατος its literal meaning, “proconsul,” they translated it “deputy,” a term applying to “proconsul,” or “proprætor,” indifferently.

We have, both from Strabo²¹ and Dio Cassius,²² an account

¹⁹ Hammond. Grotius.

²¹ Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 840. D.

²⁰ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 685 A.

²² Dion Cass. liii. 12.

of the division of the Roman Provinces by Augustus, with the names of those respectively allotted to the Emperor and to the Senate; and they both agree in stating, that in this division Cyprus was allotted to the Emperor. But Strabo omits a circumstance which Dio Cassius mentions, that, soon after the first division, Augustus exchanged Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis with the senate for Dalmatia. In a subsequent passage²³ he repeats this statement, and adds, *καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο*. Here, then, we not only have the statement of Strabo corrected, and by authority fully equal to his, but we have the same word as that used by St. Luke applied to the governor of Cyprus. It cannot be objected that, in the above-quoted passage, Dion is speaking of several Roman provinces, "one of which was certainly governed by a proconsul; and that, therefore, for the sake of brevity, he used one term for all of them, whether it applied to them or not;" he is speaking but of two, and he uses the word *ἀνθύπατοι* (in the plural).

Bishop Marsh²⁴ further remarks on this passage, "That Cyprus however ought not to be excepted, and that the title which he (Dion Cassius) employed, as well as Saint Luke, really did belong to the Roman governors of Cyprus, appears from an inscription on a Greek coin belonging to Cyprus itself, and struck in the very age in which Sergius Paulus was governor of that island. It was struck in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, whose head and name are on the face of it; and, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar St. Paul visited Cyprus. On this coin the same title, *ἀνθύπατος*, is given to Cominius

²³ Dion Cassius, lib. iv.

²⁴ Lectures, part v. On the authenticity of the New Testament, Lect. xxvi. p. 85. The preceding quotation in inverted commas is from the same Lecture.

Proclus which is given by Saint Luke to Sergius Paulus; and the coincidence which it shews is of that description that it is sufficient of itself to establish the authenticity of the work in which the coincidence is found."

The writer of the foregoing passage quotes the coin from Morell; but the engraving here given is from an actual specimen, which, though not in the most perfect preservation, retains sufficient of its type and legend to answer our purpose.



Obv.—(TI) (CL)AVDIVS CAESA(R)(AVG). Laureated head of Claudius to the left.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ (ΠΡΟΚΛ)ΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑ(ΤΟΥ) ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ. i.e. (money) of the Cyprians, under Cominius Proclus, Proconsul.

The name of Proclus is here partly obliterated; but on some, in other respects less perfect examples, the name is plainly decypherable.

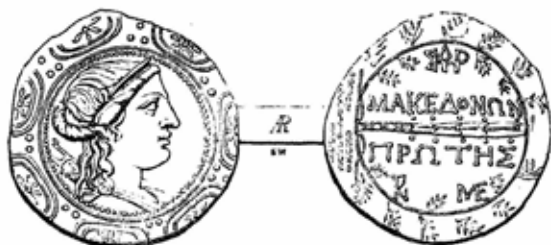
There is, however, other monumental evidence which may not be uninteresting to the antiquary and historian, and it is therefore given in the annexed table.

THE PROCONSULS OF CYPRUS.

Name.	Reign.	Authorities.
Aulus Plautius.	Augustus and Tiberius.	<p>1. Coin of Augustus. DIVI. F. IMP. CAESAR. Head of Augustus. R.—A. PLAVTIVS PROCOS. The temple of the Paphian Venus. Mus. Hederv. i. p. 240. No. 5358.</p> <p>2. Coin of Livia. LIVIA IMP. CAESAR. Head of Livia. R.—A. PLAVTIVS PROCOS. Sestini, Lett. viii. 90.</p>
Aquius Scaura.	Caligula.	<p>From an inscription:—</p> <p>P. AQVIVS. SCAEVAE. ET. FLAVIAE FILIVS CONSL. ET. DIDIAE NEPOS BARBI. ET. DVRICIAE PRONEPOS SCAVRA * * * * * * * * PROCONSVLE. PROVINCIAM CYPRVM. OBTINVIT * * * * * * * * AVCTORITATE. C. CAESAR. ET. S. C. MISSO. AD. COMPONENTVM STATVM IN. RELIQVVM. PROVINCLAE. CYPRI <i>Gruter</i>, ccclx. 3.</p>
Cominius Proclus.	Claudius.	See the coin on preceding page.
Quadratus.	Claudius or Nero.	<p>From an inscription:—</p> <p>C. VMMDIO. C. F. TER. DVRMIO QVADRATO. COS. XV. VIR. S. F. LEG. TI. CAESARIS. AVG. IN. PROV. LVST. LEG. DIVI. CLAVDII. IN ILLYRICO. EIVSDEM. ET NERONIS. CAESARIS. AVG. IN. SYRIA PROCOS. PROVINC. CYPRI.... DIVI. AVG. ET TI. CAESARIS * * * * —Brotier, Not. et Em. in Tacit. xii. 45; Noris de Epoch, Sy- rom. dis. iii. p. 183.</p>

§ 4.—“AND FROM THENCE TO PHILIPPI, WHICH IS THE CHIEF CITY OF THAT PART OF MACEDONIA, AND A COLONY.”—Acts xvi. 12.

Ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Φιλίππους, ἣτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις κολώνια. The Vulgate has, “indeque in Philippos, quæ est prima partis Macedoniæ civitas, colonia;” and some have proposed to read, “a city of the first part of Macedonia, and a colony.”²¹ But, as this reading involves the change from πρώτη to πρωτῆς, a change unsupported by the authority of a single MS., it cannot be adopted in these illustrations. Philippi, as a Roman colony, was certainly “*urbs primaria*,” which is the meaning some of the best commentators have agreed in giving to πρώτη πόλις.²² Livy²³ gives an account of the division of Macedonia into four parts; and this is confirmed by coins, of which examples are here engraved.



Obv.—Head of Diana on the Macedonian buckler.

R.—ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ; i. e. (Money) of the Macedonians of the first province. A club within an oaken garland: in the field various monograms.

²¹ Wiclif gives it, “thennes to Filippis that is the first part of Macedony, the city colony.” But the versions of Tyndale and Cranmer, and of Rheims and Geneva, are similar to our own.

²² Vide Kuinoel, Comment. Hist. et Critic. in Act. xvi. 12.

²³ Liv. lib. xlv. c. 29.

These coins are exceedingly common, vast numbers being sometimes discovered in Transylvania and Walachia, as noticed by Eckhel;²⁴ and many rude imitations exist, the performance of the barbarous people on the confines of the province.

There are also coins of the second portion or province, closely resembling the former, with the word ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ, which are scarce.

Of this province the capital was Thessalonica.



It is singular that of the third division no coins are known; and that of the fourth, but one or two solitary pieces exist. A specimen is here given, but it is in very indifferent preservation.



Obv.—Head of Jupiter.

R.—MAKEΔONON TETAPTHE. A club, and monograms within an oaken garland.

The reason for the adoption of the head of Diana on the coins of the first and second provinces may be referred to the worship of that divinity as Diana Tauropolos at Am-

²⁴ Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 63.

phipolis: the club is no doubt referrible to the Macedonian traditions, as to the descent of their kings from Hercules.

It may be added, in confirmation of the words of Saint Luke, that there are colonial coins of Philippi from the reign of Augustus to that of Caracalla. The following one is contemporary with the visit of Saint Paul:—

Obv.—TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG.....TRP. IMP. Bare head of Claudius to the left.

R.—COL. AVG. IVL. PHILIP. The Emperor standing on an estrade or tribune placed between two altars: behind him, a female figure (the genius of the city) placing a garland upon his head. *Æ.* 7.

Mionnet, tom. 1^{er}, p. 487, No. 281.

§ 5.—“AND THE BRETHREN IMMEDIATELY SENT AWAY PAUL AND SILAS BY NIGHT UNTO BEREÄ.”

Acts xvii. 10.

We read in the chapter from which our quotation is taken, that Christianity had made great progress among the people of Berea. We are told that they were diligent in searching the Scriptures, and were attentive listeners to the apostles. Of the imperial coins struck in this city, we have only those of Trajan and Antoninus Pius; and they uniformly bear the same device on the reverse, viz., the name of the people within a garland. Now, although it would be presumptuous to build up any hypothesis on this type without the support of historical evidence, it is worthy of a passing remark, that these coins are among the few examples of ancient money, which bear no pagan figure or symbol. If we consider the *religious feeling* which generally influenced the artists of antiquity, we are naturally led to inquire what could have induced the rejection by the people of Berea of devices of a pagan character which abounded at this period

on the money of other cities. Although we have the testimony of Pliny²⁵ as to the spread of Christianity in the days of Trajan, it would perhaps be venturing too far to suggest that the absence of pagan devices on the coins of Berea is attributable to that fact. We must rather seek an explanation suggested by the narrative of Saint Luke; namely that the Jews were very numerous at Berea, and perhaps more strict than many of their brethren in other cities; and although not allowed to hold magisterial offices, were probably versed in the mechanic arts and employed in the mint; in which case they would naturally shun the representation of any living thing on the reverse, though the law compelled them to tolerate the head of Cæsar. If this conjecture be deemed inadmissible, it may be suggested, that, even supposing the Jews resident in this city to have no authority in the mint, the magistrates may have had a desire to offer nothing offensive to the Hebrew population on their local currency. The very common coin here engraved is of Trajan:—

Obv.—(IMPERATOR) NEPONA TPAIANOC APICTOC. EEBACTOC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, i. e. *Imperator Nerva Trajanus Optimus Augustus, Germanicus*. Laureated head of the Emperor to the right.

R.—BEPOTAIQN. (Money) of the people of Berea; and the letter B (denoting the second year of the Emperor's reign), in two lines within a laurel garland.



²⁵ Lib. x. Epist. 97.

§ 6.—“THE TEMPLE OF THE GREAT GODDESS DIANA,—
WHOM ALL ASIA AND THE WORLD WORSHIPPETH.”

Acts xix. 27.

This assertion of the “Town Clerk” is verified by the number of coins struck in the various cities of Greece, on which we find depicted the singular archaic figure under which *Diana Ephesia* was worshipped. This figure is not to be confounded with that of Diana the huntress, but is distinguished by her characteristic attributes as *nutrix* of all living things.²⁶ The “silver shrines” (*vaot apyropoi*) made by Demetrius may have been in reality representations of the temple on the medals of which an example is here represented. So much was this goddess revered by the Greeks, that they made her a household divinity, as we learn from Pausanias, who says she was privately honoured more than any other.²⁷

The engraving renders a minute description of the form under which Diana Ephesia was worshipped unnecessary. Whatever was its origin, the worship of this goddess may be referred to remote antiquity. According to Dionysius Periegetes her figure was originally set up under an elm tree:—

²⁶ See the description of Hieronymus, cited by Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 512.

²⁷ Mess. lib. iv. c. xxxi. This shews why the “silver shrines” were so much in repute.

Παράραλιν Ἐφεσόν, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰσχυαίρης
 Ἐνθα θεῇ ποτὲ νήον Ἀμαζονίδες τετύχοντο
 Πρέμνῳ ἔνι πτελέης, περίωσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα.

v. 827—8—9.

Callimachus says the tree was a beech:—

Ἐν κότῃ παράραλιν Ἐφέσου βρέτας ἰδρύσαντο,

Φηγῶ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ.

Hymn. in Dian. v. 238.

Both these accounts, however, clearly refer to a very primitive description of worship to which we find allusion in the Old Testament.²⁸

The authors of antiquity are not agreed as to the order of the temple of Diana: Pliny²⁹ asserting that it was *Attic*, while Vitruvius³⁰ says it was *Ionic*. Again, the image of the goddess is said by Vitruvius³¹ to have been formed of cedar, and Xenophon³² describes it as of gold, discrepancies which may be reconciled by a reference to the description which Pausanias gives of many gilded statues.³³ The words of Pliny shew that there was some doubt as to the material of which it was formed; but whatever that may have been, the figure was never changed, though the temple was restored seven times.³⁴

²⁸ "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree." Deut. xii. 2.

²⁹ Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. xxiii.

³⁰ De Architect. lib. iii.

³¹ Ibid. lib. ii. c. ix.

³² De Exped. Cyri. lib. v.

³³ This author informs us that he saw at Corinth a statue of Diana Ephesia formed of wood, gilt, the face being painted red. Cor. lib. ii. c. 2.

³⁴ De ipso simulacro deæ ambigitur. Cæteri ex ebeno esse tradunt. Mutianus ter Consul, ex his qui proxime viso ea scripsere *vitigeneum* et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. xi.

It seems probable that the vulgar were not allowed to approach too near to this grotesque but time honoured figure; and that the artists of antiquity sometimes drew on their fancies in the representations of her; for even in the coins of Ephesus, the goddess is not always represented in precisely the same manner.³⁵ The idol was preserved from decay by resinous gums which were inserted in cavities made for that purpose.³⁶

The best representation of this remarkable image appears to be that on a silver medallion bearing the heads of Claudius and Agrippina, which is the more curious as being nearly contemporary with the period of Saint Paul's visit to Ephesus. These pieces were doubtless in circulation throughout all Asia Minor, and could be obtained by devotees at the shrine of the Ephesian goddess.



Obv.—TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVGVSTVS AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA. The heads of Claudius and Agrippina side by side.

R.—DIANA EPHESIA. The statue of Diana Ephesia.

³⁵ See the coins of Antoninus Pius and of Otacilia, engraved in illustration of a paper on the *Coins of Ephesus*, Num. Chron. vol. iv. art. xii. On the latter there is a small figure of a stag on each side the figure of the goddess, as on the silver medallions of Hadrian, struck, in all probability, on the same occasion as the above.

³⁶ Vitruvius, De Architect. lib. ii. c. ix. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xvi. c. xl.

The figure on the reverse of this example has a *vraisemblance* which we do not discover on the coins of a later reign. The form and style are decidedly archaic; and the arms project from the sides as though they did not originally constitute a part of the idol, but were the addenda of a later period. Pliny marvels that though so small it was not of one piece, a circumstance which indicates a very primitive style of art.³⁷

§ 7.—“AND CERTAIN OF THE CHIEF OF ASIA.”

Acts xix. 31.

Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν. The Asiarchs, or “chief of Asia,” here mentioned, were not only the presidents of the public games and festivals held in the most celebrated cities of Asia, but they also bore, like the Roman *Ædiles*, the whole expense of them; hence, none but the wealthiest persons could take upon them such an office: “*hujus sacerdotii honos non mediocris, nec mediocri pecunia constat.*” Strabo says that on this account the Asiarchs were generally selected from amongst the Trallians, who were reckoned the wealthiest of the Asiatics.³⁸ They wore a rich official costume, and on their heads golden crowns. The engraving here given is from the reverse of a coin of Hypæpa, in Lydia, with the portrait of Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla. The type represents a military figure pouring the contents of a patera upon an altar, with the fire kindled, while Victory behind places a garland on his head. The legend is ΕΠΙ (Μ)ΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β. ΑCΙ.....CΤΡ. ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ—επι Μενανδρου Β. Ασιαρκου (και) ΣΤΡατηγου Υπαιπηνων—i.e. (Money)

³⁷ Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. xl.

³⁸ Lib. xiv.

of the people of Hypæpa under Menander, for the second time³⁹ Asiarchus and Prætor.



The mention of the friendship of the Asiarchs for Paul appears to add another to the numerous proofs of the contemporaneous character of these narratives; and it may truly be said with Duchal, as quoted by Paley,⁴⁰ "it doth not appear that it ever came into the mind of these writers, how this or the other action would appear to mankind, or what objections might be raised upon them. But without at all attending to this, they lay the facts before you, at no pains to think whether they would appear credible or not. If the reader will not believe their testimony, there is no help for it: they tell the truth and attend to nothing else. Surely this looks like sincerity, and that they published nothing to the world but what they believed themselves."

The foregoing remarks are especially applicable to the

³⁹ A coin of Antoninus, struck at Hypæpa, bears the name of Julius Menander, who may probably be the same personage, as the Asiarchs were not only allowed to hold their office a second time, as seen by the coin here represented, but were so styled in courtesy during the rest of their lives.

This coin, as well as that here engraved, was described by me in an article communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1835.

⁴⁰ Evidences, Part II. chap. iii.

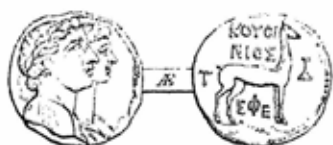
passage at the head of this section. That the very maintainers and presidents of the heathen sports and festivals of a people to whom the doctrine of Christ and the resurrection was foolishness were the friends of Paul, was an assertion which no fabricator of a forgery would have ventured upon. We cannot penetrate the veil which antiquity has thrown over these events, and are only left to conjecture, either that Christianity itself had supporters, though secret ones, who feared the multitude, in these wealthy Asiatics; or that, careless of the truth of what the apostle preached, they admired his eloquence, and wished to protect one whom they considered highly gifted.

§ 8.—“AND WHEN THE TOWN CLERK HAD APPEASED
THE PEOPLE.”—Acts xix. 35.

The word *Γραμματεὺς*, rendered in our version of the New Testament “town clerk,”⁴¹ is to be differently understood as it occurs in different places in Holy Writ. As in our days “lawyer” may be used in speaking of several kinds of legal functionaries, so the word *scribe* occurs in both the Old and New Testaments. In its general sense, and as used in the gospels, it doubtless signifies a lettered person; as may be inferred from its obvious derivation from *γράμματα*, *letters* or *book-learning*. When a scribe of a superior order is indicated there is generally some affix, as in the Septuagint (2 Kings xii. 10), where the king’s scribe, *ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως*, is described as the confidential officer of the Jewish monarch. The scribe here mentioned as appeasing the clamour of the Ephesian mob

⁴¹ Wiclif renders it “scribe:”—“and whaune the scribe hadde ceesid the puple.”

was a personage of great importance in the Greek and Asiatic cities. That the office was a most honourable one may be inferred from a coin of Nysa, in Caria, on which Tiberius Cæsar is styled scribe of that city.⁴² The scribe was elected yearly, like the archon; and on the coins of Ephesus we find that the office was held several times by the same person. Thus, Cusinius the scribe, whose name is placed on the coin here represented, appears by the inscription to have been elected to that office four times. The obverse bears the heads of Drusus and Antonia, side by side; the reverse has the figure of a stag, and the legend, ΕΦΕ. ΚΟΥΙΝΙΟΣ ΤΟ. Δ.; i.e. (Money) of the Ephesians, Cusinius, (scribe) for the fourth time.



That Cusinius was the scribe we learn from a coin of Livia, cited by Mionnet.⁴³ On the coins of Nero, the name of the Proconsul appears instead of that of the scribe.⁴⁴ But for this circumstance the *name* of the "town clerk," whose tact and promptitude dispersed the Ephesian mob, might probably have been known.

The stag is the common type of the autonomous coins of

⁴² Frölich, *Quatuor Tentamina*, p. 154.

⁴³ From the *Cab. Cousinery*. Descr. tom. iii. p. 93.

⁴⁴ See § 10. That of the scribe appears again under Domitian, on whose coins we find the name of *Caccenius Portus*. See Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus while under the Roman dominion, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IV. art. xii.

Ephesus; a fact noticed by the sophist Libanius,⁴⁵ and attested by numerous existing examples.

§ 9.—“THE CITY OF THE EPHESIANS IS A WORSHIPPER OF THE GREAT GODDESS DIANA.” Acts xix. 35.

The word rendered in our version of the New Testament “worshipper,” is, in the original, *νεωκορος*: a title derived from *νεως*, a temple, and *κωρεω*, to sweep, and such was its primitive signification; but in the course of time it became of the highest importance, and is found perpetually inscribed on the coins of several cities. The chief pride of the people of Ephesus was that they were the *neocori* of their goddess Diana; but in the days of their decline they added to this the especial guardianship of the temple of the emperor. On a coin of Caracalla we have the representation of four temples, three of them having figures of emperors, and the other containing the statue of the far-famed goddess: legend, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΔΙΑΣ Δ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ;⁴⁶ i. e. (Money) *of the Ephesians, the first of Asia, four times Neocori*.

This boasted epithet will be found on the coin of which an engraving is given in illustration of the following section.

§ 10.—“THE LAW IS OPEN, AND THERE ARE DEPUTIES.” Acts xix. 38.

Ἀγόραιοι ἄγονται καὶ ἈΝΘΗΠΑΤΟΙ εἰσιν. The words of the “town clerk” seem to indicate that the power of the scribe or *grammateus* was at this time considerably abridged.

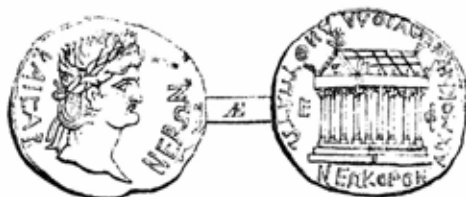
⁴⁵ Ἐφέσious δὲ καὶ τὸ νομίσμα τὴν ἑλαφὸν ἔφερεν. Orat. xxxii.

⁴⁶ See Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus under the Roman dominion, Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. IV. art. xii.

It appears by the coin here engraved that the proconsular authority was fully established at Ephesus in the reign of Nero.

Of the office of scribe we have spoken in § 8. *Æchmocles Aviola*, the proconsul whose name appears on this coin, is supposed by *Eckhel*⁴⁷ to have held the consular office in the year of Rome 807. *Aviola* was a cognomen of the consular family *Acilia*. The *Turones* and *Andecavi* were defeated by *Acilius Aviola* in the reign of *Tiberius*.⁴⁸ The name of *Aviola* appears on coins of *Smyrna* and of *Pergamos* under *Caligula*.⁴⁹

This coin bears on the obverse the head of *Nero* laureated; and the legend, ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΛΑΡ. The reverse, a representation of the temple of *Diana*; legend, ΕΦ. ΑΙΧΜΟΚΛΗ ΑΟΥΙΟΛΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ; i.e. (*Money*) of the *Ephesians*, *Neocori*, *Æchmocles Aviola*, *Proconsul*.



§ 11.—“BUT PAUL SAID, I AM A MAN WHICH AM A JEW OF TARSUS IN CILICIA, A CITIZEN OF NO MEAN CITY.”

Acts xxi. 39.

“AND PAUL SAID, BUT I WAS FREE BORN.”

Acts xxii. 28.

The coins of *Tarsus* abundantly testify that she was “no

⁴⁷ *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 159.

⁴⁸ *Tacitus*, *Ann.* iii. c. 41.

⁴⁹ *Eckhel*, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 519.

mean city." Many bear the title of *Autonomous* and *Metropolis*.⁵⁰ A coin of Severus bears the legend, ΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΩΝ ΙΣΑΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΡΙΑ ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑ; i. e. (Money) of Tarsus, Metropolis of Cilicia, Isauria, Caria, Lycaonia. Another of Caracalla has, ΚΟΙΝΟC ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΩΝ; *The Community of the three Provinces*. A third mentions its site, on the river Cydnus: ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΟΣ ΚΥΑΝ. But this coin of Caracalla illustrates the words of Saint Paul.



It bears on the obverse the laureated head of the emperor; legend, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. CΕΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC C.; i. e. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius, Severus Antoninus, Augustus*. R.—ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥΘ. ΤΑΡΧΕΩC; i. e. *The Joint Councils of free Tarsus*.

Eckhel cites a passage from Dio Chrysostom praising the unanimity of the "three Estates;" i. e. the *Δημος*, the *Βουλη*, and the *Γερουσια*. He also remarks on the appropriateness of the type of Minerva, who appears to be casting into the urn the unanimous vote of the three councils.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The letters A. M. B. sometimes occur on the coins of Tarsus, and are rendered *prima sola Cilicia*.

⁵¹ Doct. Num. Vet. vol. iii. p. 73.

§ 12.—“AND AFTER CERTAIN DAYS KING AGRIPPA AND BERNICE CAME UNTO CÆSAREA.” Acts xxv. 13.

The Agrippa here mentioned was the son of Agrippa Magnus. He was seventeen years old on the death of his father; and the emperor Claudius, deeming him too young for government, kept him at Rome, and sent Cuspius Fadus as procurator into Judæa, which for a time became again a Roman province. Upon the death of his uncle, Herod, king of Chalcis (A.D. 48), the little kingdom of that prince, with the privilege of superintending the temple and nominating the high priest, was given to Agrippa; and four years subsequently, he received in its stead the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and the title of king. Seven years afterwards, Nero gave him the cities of Tiberias and Tarichææ, in Galilee, and Julias, with several villages in Peræa.

This prince, notwithstanding the troubles which now began to afflict his ill-fated country, spent large sums in improving and beautifying Jerusalem, Berytus, and Cæsarea Panias (Cæsarea Philippi). Of the latter there is a coin extant, bearing the head of Nero: *reverse*, ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΕ,⁵² within a laurel garland, confirming the account of Josephus, who says Herod enlarged and called the city Neronias, in honour of the emperor.⁵³

There are other coins of Agrippa, bearing the heads of Titus, Vespasian, and Domitian; one of which is remarkable for the prænomen *Marcus*;⁵⁴ but the example here engraved

⁵² Pellerin, *Med. de Rois*, p. 176; Eckhel, *D. N. V.*, vol. iii. 493.

⁵³ *Antiq. lib. xx. c. 9, § 8, 4.*

⁵⁴ Eckhel, *D. N. V.*, vol. iii. p. 494. Pellerin thinks this name was given to Agrippa, on account of his family being so much indebted to the Triumvir Antonius; Eckhel, however, is disposed to refer it to Marcus Agrippa.

is best adapted for our illustration. It bears on one side the *tabernaculum*, and the legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. *Rev.* (the date detrited) three ears of corn bound together.

The learned have offered various solutions of this type: some supposing the ears of corn to be intended to represent the oblation of the first fruits; but Eckhel⁵⁵ inclines to the opinion, that it was chosen as less repugnant to the Jews than the ordinary representations on the money of this period. Be this as it may, this coin is more Judæan in character than the other money of Agrippa, and is formed on the model of the small brass pieces of Judæa *in genere*, given in the note on the tribute money.



§ 13.—“THEY DELIVERED PAUL AND CERTAIN OTHER PRISONERS UNTO ONE NAMED JULIUS, A CENTURION OF AUGUSTUS’ BAND.”—Acts xxvii. 1.

The Σπείρης Σεβαστῆς has been rendered by some commentators, “legio Augusta,” by others, “cohors Augusta,” assuming it to have been a cohort belonging to a legion then serving in Syria, and bearing the name of Augusta. Three legions, namely, the second, third, and eighth, bore this designation; but, from all we can learn from Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and other sources, none of them were ever in Syria or Judæa.

⁵⁵ Eckhel, D. N. V., vol. iii. p. 493.

The legions serving in Syria and Judæa about the time of Vespasian, were—

In Syria, Legio iii. Gallica.
iv. Scythica.
vi. Ferrata.
xii. Fulminifera.

In Judæa, Legio v. Macedonica.
x.
xv. Apollinaris.

But we do not find either of the legions called "Augusta."⁵⁶

In the note upon Acts x. 1, it is observed that the Romans levied many soldiers to recruit their forces in Syria and Judæa.⁵⁷ Among these levies two were pre-eminently distinguished: those from Cæsarea (*Καισαρεῖς*) and those from Samaria (*Σεβαστηνοί*).⁵⁸ Josephus mentions Cumanus, the predecessor of Felix, as taking with him a troop of these *Sebastenoi*—*ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν εἵλην*.⁵⁹

We have seen, by the testimony afforded both by history and by coins, that no soldier of a "legio Augusta," or "cohors Augusta," could have been quartered in Syria or Judæa. It is, therefore, most probable that the *Σπείρα Σεβαστῆ* was a Samaritan corps in the Roman army; whether forming a part of a legion or not is immaterial. The *εἵλη Σεβαστηνῶν*, mentioned above, were horse; but we may fairly infer that among so numerous a body as the *Σεβαστηνοί* there were foot as well as horse.

⁵⁶ Brotier in Tacit. iii. p. 480.

⁵⁷ Josephus, Ant. xix. 9, 2.

⁵⁸ For the name of Samaria being changed to Sebaste, by Herod, see Forbiger, Handbuch der Alt. Geogr. p. 696.

⁵⁹ Josephus, Ant. xx. 6, 1.

III.

MEDAL OF THE PRETENDER.



The very rare, and hitherto unpublished, Medal here represented, does not exist in the British Museum, and is not to be found in the best and most complete collections of medals relating to the Pretender's family. On the obverse is the Duke of Cumberland (Butcher Billy, as he was called by the Scotch Jacobites), on horseback: the reverse represents the Pretender attempting to reach a crown which is on the summit of a column, while the duke comes behind him and pierces him through with his sword, saying, "Come back again, *Pretenter*." This medal is of copper, of very coarse execution, made probably for "the mob," at a small cost. It is not, however, less valuable in an historical point of view, and may be considered as an evidence of the hatred in which the Stuart family and their adherents were held by the London populace. The present year being the centenary of the battle of Culloden, by which the Pretender's hopes were finally crushed, the medal may not inappropriately, at this time, occupy a corner in the Numismatic Chronicle.

B. NIGHTINGALE.

NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles. By D. H. Haigh. Leeds, 1845.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many illustrated works on the Anglo-Saxon coinage which have appeared within the last few years, it is perhaps the general opinion of collectors that some publication is still wanting, in which the materials given to the public may be re-arranged and concentrated.

Ruding and Hawkins together have furnished us with a very complete representation, or description of Anglo-Saxon types, up to the time when the last-mentioned work was published. But since that time, the very important *Cuerdale discovery* has been made, and many treasures have been produced from private cabinets, so that we are furnished with a variety of new types, and with their help are enabled to appropriate some old ones with greater certainty.

To embody in one work all existing materials, and to correct former mistakes and misappropriations, is the object of our author in the publication, the first fasciculus of which is now before us.

The task could scarcely have been taken up by more able hands. Mr. Haigh is well known to our readers as an able numismatic antiquary, well versed in the old chronicles, ingenious in his conjectures, and indefatigable in his search after materials. The present specimen of his work proves him to be also a minutely accurate draughtsman.

We are not sure that he has done wisely in first approaching that part of his subject which is involved in the greatest obscurity. Where there is much obscurity, it must be particularly difficult to make such conjectures as will meet with general acceptance, and so to commend one's-self and one's work to the public.

However, Mr. Haigh has boldly grappled with the difficulties of his subject, and, if his appropriations are approved, furnished us with what history fails to furnish us with, a tolerably complete succession of East-Anglian princes, from the cotemporary of Offa to the godson of Alfred, i. e. from 790 to 890; but whatever may be thought of his appropriations, we do not think it can be said that he has affixed to any single coin an improbable date.

The first on his list is the penny of Ethelbert, transferred from Kent, to which kingdom it has been usually given. Ethelbert, of Kent, died in 760, too early a date for this coin, if we suppose it to have been struck in imitation of the coins of Offa, which it

resembles in size and workmanship. It is not likely that Offa, if he was the first to strike pennies, struck them at such an early period; and it is more probable that he should find an imitator before 793, when Ethelbert of East Anglia died, than before 760. We agree with Mr. Haigh, in thinking this latter date an improbable one; but we observe that Sir Francis Palgrave has given to Kent another Ethelbert, to whom he has affixed the date of 770. The existence of this third Ethelbert, if considered certain, would, we think, much increase the difficulty of appropriating the piece in question.

After Ethelbert, Mr. Haigh supposes Eadvald to have reigned in East-Anglia about A. D. 800. Now, though we are prepared to remove his coins from their old position, which seems altogether unwarrantable, we are not so sure that they must be transferred to East-Anglia. We believe that there is nothing in the history or circumstances of the Kentish kingdom, at or about the close of Offa's reign, to render it impossible there should have been a king *there* of the name of Eadvald; and when we take into consideration the striking affinity of Kentish and Mercian types, some persons may think that this possibility is raised to a high probability. All, however, that we wish now to contend for, is the reasonableness of pausing previous to exchanging a wrong for a doubtful appropriation.

It is, we suppose, by this time generally admitted, that the coins next in order, those of Ethelstan, *with* as well as *without* the portrait, belong to a king of East-Anglia, who flourished about A. D. 825. We are now, for the first time, presented with the engraving of a unique type (pl. i. fig. 7), which is a *decisive* connecting link between the two sorts. Before the discovery of this type, the connection was strongly suspected by some antiquaries; but denied by others. We think that it is now incontrovertibly proved. The coin itself, which affords this evidence, is one of the most valuable acquisitions made for the national museum at a recent important sale.

We have no fresh observations to offer on the coins of Beorhtric and Ethelward, which we suppose to be correctly attributed to East Anglia, though history does not mention their names. Mr. Haigh furnishes us with a new coin of Ethelward, of very rude workmanship, with a cross crosslet on the reverse. This type is a fresh connecting link between the portrait coins of Ethelstan and East-Anglia.

Oswald and Ethelred are both new appropriations. We do not feel sure, that at the period to which they are given, 870-878, we ought to look for any specimens of East-Anglian coinage. One of the coins attributed to Oswald is a fragment, in which the most important part is wanting: the other may be one of the

many blundered St. Eadmunds, and Ethelred may be the brother of Alfred.

On the whole, much as we admire the beautiful specimen of his work with which Mr. Haigh has favoured us, we should have admired it still more if he had abstained for the present from fixing the appropriation of Ethelbert, Eadvald, Oswald, and Ethelred.

It is not that we have any decided repugnance to his conjectures—they are not improbable; but there are others which to some minds will seem more probable, and we do not think every probable conjecture sufficient ground for an appropriation. Where there is so much room for hesitation, let us wait for further evidence; let us advance step by step upon something like certainties, then we shall not have any steps to retrace, and shall not embarrass a difficult subject with ungrounded assumptions.

We do not entirely agree with a rule which has been laid down, "not to remove a coin from a place where it has been long located, even if there are strong grounds to believe the location erroneous, until you have a sure domicile in which it may repose undisturbed;" at least we think it a rule which must have exceptions. For instance, Offa ought to occupy his right place at the commencement of the Mercian series. Eadvald's being placed there gives an erroneous impression as to the coinage of that kingdom. His coins are of a later date, and they are not Mercian; and though when removing them you know not where to put them, you know that they can never be restored to the place from which you have taken them.

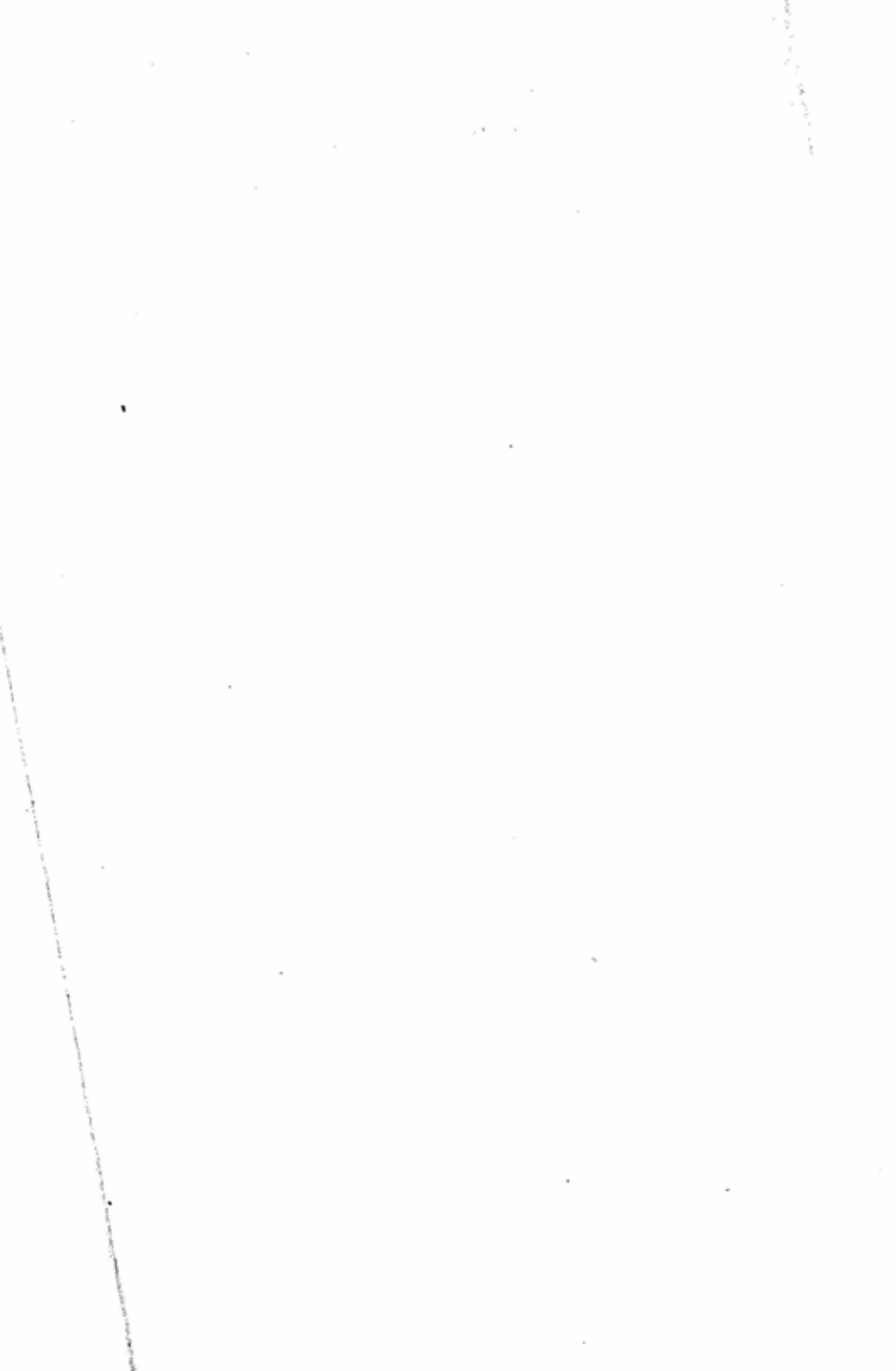
What we very much wish is, that Mr. Haigh, or any one putting forth a new work on the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, would give us a *series apart* of such coins as cannot be appropriated with certainty; there let them rest till further evidence gives them a local habitation. Amongst these, we should place the skeattæ of Ethelbert I., the pennies of Ethelbert, Eadvald, Eanred, Oswald, Ethelred, and perhaps others; they are capable of chronological arrangement, though not of appropriation.

We hope it will not be thought, from anything that has been here said, that we are insensible to the merits of Mr. Haigh's work. We have to thank him for the first complete tabular view of the coins of East Anglia—for five plates, drawn with the minutest accuracy and delicately engraved—and for the first publication of several remarkable types: and our earnest hope is that all persons who are interested in this branch of numismatics, will give him their cordial support, and enable him to carry on his work to completion.

MISCELLANEA.

The Society of Agriculture, Commerce, Science and Arts, of Calais, offer a prize gold medal of the value of 100 francs for the best description of the coins and medals struck at Calais, or relating to the history of that place.

A large number of washed small brass coins have been lately discovered in Somersetshire, near the Mendip Hills. We have not received any detailed account of the examination of these coins, but we are informed that there was nothing more valuable among them than a Carausius.



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IV.

EXAMPLES OF LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE AND
TAVERN TOKENS.

WHEN we committed to the hands of our printers the list of tokens issued by Wiltshire tradesmen in the seventeenth century, we trusted that it would find favour among a few of the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle; but we had some misgivings as to its reception by our French friends. Our uneasiness on this head has, however, diminished; and a paper in a recent number of the *Revue Numismatique*, on the *Brummagem* satirical medalets struck in this country, in ridicule of Tom Paine and the Jacobins of his day, assures us that even such trifles as these are occasionally not unworthy the notice of the learned and practised Numismatist.¹

The greater part of the tokens comprised in the following list, were issued by the keepers of coffee-houses and taverns,² and on that account, are not altogether destitute

¹ M. de Longpérier has not thought them beneath his notice, but in the following number of the *Revue*, instructs his countrymen in the *double entendre* of their equivocal legends and *bizarre* types.

² Few persons will require to be reminded, that every tradesman once had his particular sign, and that when the houses in streets were not numbered, such a practice was not without its use. A few shops and houses of business may yet be found in London, especially the old established ones, that have not entirely discarded their signs, and they may still be seen occupying the place of a pane in the window. One or two bankers, too, do not disdain to exhibit their ancient cognizance over the door. Messrs. Hoare display the golden bottle over the entrance of their elegant new house of business.

of historical interest. Tavern signs change with the times : Harry the Eighth, Elizabeth, the Palgrave, Monk, and, in more modern days—

“Vernon, the butcher Cumberland, Wolfe, Hawke,
Prince Ferdinand, Granby, Burgoyne, Keppel, Howe,
Evil and good, have had their tithe of talk,
And filled their sign-posts then, like Wellesley now.”

A chapter of some length might be written on these changes, and the causes that led to them. There are other mutations, not affected by political events, which ale-house and tavern signs, and their designations, have undergone. Every body knows that “The Satyr and Bacchanals” became in due time “The Satyr and Bag o’ Nails,” and that the puritan “God encompasseth us,” was profaned to “the Goat and Compasses !” Nor is it necessary to remind the reader that it was proposed, with the addition of a few touches of the painter’s brush, to convert the goodly effigies of Sir Roger de Coverley into a Saracen’s Head !

Several of the tokens here described are of taverns in the vicinity of the Inns of Court and Temple Bar, the great thoroughfare from the city to the west end. This neighbourhood, though it has undergone many changes, still preserves some relics of its former state. Its taverns—snug enough when you reach them—at the ends of narrow courts; its quaint looking houses; Bell Yard and Shire Lane,³ with their ancient tenements huddled together and

³ This, for a long time, was a horrible den. An attempt has been recently made, we believe, to purge it of its abominations. Shire Lane appears to have had an equivocal reputation in the 17th century. Here lodged that audacious villain, Titus Oates, while the town, and indeed all England, was ringing with accounts of pretended plots against the state.

cramped for room, all tend to convey an idea of what London was in old times.

The list which follows is a fair average sample of the *quasi* currency which provoked the scorn of Evelyn, and inundated the country in the middle of the 17th century, supplying "small change" to dealers and chapmen, until a legitimate coinage of farthings succeeded.⁴

-
1. *Obv.*—MORAT. Turk's head.

R.—THE COFFEE HOVSE IN EXCHANG ALLEY.

2. *Obv.*—THOMAS STROVD AT. A Turk's head: In the field, P.

R.—LVDGATE COFFEE HOVSE. A view of Ludgate.

3. *Obv.*—THE COFFEE HOVSE AT THE. A Turk's head.

R.—WEST END OF ST PAVL'S. In the field, a monogram composed of cyphers.

All these coffee-houses still exist. The first, is the well-known "Garraway's;" and has long been a celebrated mart for the sale of landed and other property. The other two have grown into extensive and respectable hotels, where many good things are dispensed, besides the decoction which gave the general name to these houses of resort. Coffee, it is well known, was introduced by the traders in the Levant; hence the adoption of the head of the reigning Sultan, Amurath the Third (popularly called Morad or Morat) as a sign. Snelling has engraved a coffee-house token, on which the Turk's head appears with the following distich:—

"Morat, the great man did mee call,
Where'er I came I conquered all."

⁴ Ruding, in his *Annals* under the year 1665, seems to doubt, that the farthings with CAROLVS A CAROLO were ever in circulation; but the fact that they are at this time very common, and that many are much worn, shows that they must have been current.

On the token No. 6, we have the head of Solyman.

4. *Obv.*—THE SVLTANESS A COFFEE HOVSE. Head to the left.

R.—IN SWEETING'S RENTS CORNHILL. A shield of arms.

Sweeting's Rents have fled for ever before the march of improvement. Our metropolitan readers will not require to be reminded that they bounded the east side of the old Exchange, and that Sweeting's Alley, leading to them, was generally crowded, during "'Change hours," with spectated elderly gentlemen peering at the caricatures, and country bumpkins wondering at various illustrations of the perpetual motion in the chronometer shops.

5. *Obv.*—NEAR THE EAST INDIA HOVS. A Turk's head.

R.—IN LEADEN HALL STREET. In the field, IOHNS HALF PENY.

John's coffee was for a number of years in high repute.

6. *Obv.*—SOLYMAN. A Turk's head,

R.—WARD'S COFFEE HOVSE IN BREAD STREET 1671, across the field in five lines.

7. *Obv.*—THO. OVTRIDGE AT CARTER. A table, on which are placed a cup and saucer, and a couple of short pipes: above, a hand holding a cup.

R.—LANE END NEAR CREED LANE. A Turk's head: in the field, $\frac{1}{2}$.

This token, like many others of the period, is of an octangular shape. The device of the obverse shews that the citizens took a pipe with their coffee after the oriental custom; but, instead of the long *tchibouk*, we have a couple of short pipes of the same character as those so often dug up in our London excavations, the shape of which is so well given in Teniers' smoking scenes.

8. *Obv.*—NEERE THE TOWER ROYALL. A Turk's head.

R.—THO. SCARLETT HIS COFFEE PENNY, across the field,
in four lines.

Tower Royal is, as most of our readers are aware, a small street leading from the end of Budge Row to Cloak Lane. The neighbourhood must have greatly changed since that day. A coffee-house of any repute, could not exist there now. The same may be said of the localities of Nos. 6 and 7, which, at the time of the currency of those pieces, were doubtless more busy thoroughfares.

9. *Obv.*—I. D. IN SHEPE YARD HIS HALF PENY, in four lines
across the field.

R.—WITHOVT TEMPLE BAR. A ship in full sail.

10. *Obv.*—NAT. CHILD NEAR Y^E MAY POAL. A boar's head
pierced with three arrows.

R.—IN Y^E STRAND GROCER HIS $\frac{1}{2}$ A chequered square.

The May Pole, in the Strand, stood where the New Church now stands, and nearly opposite Somerset House. It was taken down in the year 1718.

11. *Obv.*—AT THE SARASONS HEAD. A head bearded, and
laureated, full faced.

R.—IN WESTMINSTER GROCER. In the field, I.M.B.

The Saracen's head is probably a sign as old as the time of the Crusades; and the grim portrait in vogue at this day, appears by the token to have been traditionally handed down. The reader will not forget the story related in the "Spectator," of Sir Roger de Coverley and the Saracen's head.

12. *Obv.*—AT THE SHIP WITHOVT. A ship in full sail.

R.—TEMPLE BAR 1649. In the field, w.m.s.

Faithorne, the engraver, who died in 1691, lived at the sign of the Ship, next to the Drake, opposite the Palgrave's Head tavern, without Temple Bar, where he not

only followed his art, but sold Italian, Dutch, and English prints.—*Walpole*.

13. *Obv.*—JOHN ANNISON AT Y^E WHALE BO^N. In the field, the scapula of a whale, between the letters 68 (1668).

R.—NEW CHEAPSIDE IN MOREFEILDS. In the field, HIS HALF PENY, in three lines.

The “Whalebone” was a celebrated place in the reign of Charles the Second.

14. *Obv.*—EDW. GILNEY AT Y^E. In the field, three horse shoes, and three diamonds.

R.—IN PICKEDILLE. In the field, E. H. G. between three diamonds.

15. *Obv.*—AT THE THREE. In the field, three barrels or tuns.

R.—TUNS IN BEDLAM. In the field, C. H. A.

From the type of the three tuns, the arms of the Vintner's Company, we may infer, that this was the token of a tavern within the precincts of Old Bedlam.

16. *Obv.*—WILL. IONSON AT Y^E DRAKE. In the field, a drake.

R.—BELL YARD NEARE TEMPLE BAR. In the field, HIS HALF PENY 1667.

“The Drake,” stood next to “The Ship.” See No. 9. It was doubtless a rebus, and alluded to the admiral, who was very popular in the reign of Elizabeth, the mint-mark of the martlett on her coins being termed by the vulgar a drake. The situation of this sign near the Ship was appropriate enough.

17. *Obv.*—Edward Barnard at y^e Dolphin in King street in Westminster.

R.—HIS HALF PENY. A dolphin; below, an arm holding a coffee-pot over a saucer or basin.

18. RICHARD LAWTON AT Y^E BEL. In the field, a large bell, and the words HIS HAL PENY.

R.—AND 3 CRANES BY Y^E SAVOY. 67. In the field, three cranes.

This sign is clearly indicated by the three birds; but "3 Cranes Wharf," near St. Paul's, is so named from the three machines with which goods are "craned" into warehouses, etc.

19. *Obv.*—A triumphal arch, with three gates within a garland.

R.—THE PAGEANT TAVERNE AT CHARING CROSSE: I. W. within a garland.

There was the "Triumph Tavern" at Charing Cross, which may have been the same establishment.

20. *Obv.*—JOSEPH INMAN AT THE. In the field, a tankard.

R.—TANKERD HOVSE IN DREWRY LANE, 1668, in five lines across the field.

21. *Obv.*—AT THE HOLE IN THE WALL. A wall, with a circular hole in it.

R.—IN CHANCERY LANE HIS HALF PENY. I. M. F. in five lines, within compartments, across the field.

"The Hole in the Wall" still exists in Chancery Lane. It was a popular sign, and several taverns bore the same designation, which probably originated in a certain tavern being situated in some umbrageous recess in the old city walls. Many of the most popular and most frequented taverns of the present day, are located in twilight courts and alleys, into which Phœbus peeps at Midsummer tide only when on the meridian. Such localities may have been selected on more than one account: they not only afforded good skulking "holes" for those who loved drinking better than work; but beer and other liquors keep better in the shade. These haunts, like Lady Mary's farm, were—

"In summer shady, and in winter warm."

Rawlins, the engraver of the fine and much coveted Oxford Crown, with a view of the city under the horse, dates a quaint supplicatory letter to John Evelyn, "from the Hole

in the Wall, in St. Martins,"⁵ no misnomer, we will be sworn, in that aggregation of debt and dissipation, when debtors were cabined, cribbed, confined, with a very remote chance of redemption. In the days of Rye-House and Meal-Tub plots, philanthropy overlooked such little matters; and small debts bills were not dreamt of in the philosophy of speculative legislators. Among other places, which bore the designation of the Hole in the Wall, there was one in Chandos Street, in which the famous Duval, the highwayman, was apprehended after an attack on—two bottles of wine,⁶ probably drugged by a "friend" or mistress.

⁵ Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. III., p. 123.

⁶ We have before us a small tract of the time, which professes to give an account of this fellow, half serious, half bantering, half condemnatory, half apologetical; but we confess, that we can see nothing to justify his exaltation by the gentlemen of the Newgate School of Romance. We, however, must wonder at nothing, when a man of real genius condescends to make the cold-blooded, cruel, and calculating Eugene Aram, the hero of his romance, and to represent him in *love*!! The only thing that can be said in favour of highwaymen is, that they were rarely *murderers*, and never murderers in cold blood. What a change has taken place in society, long since these tokens were current in London, ay, even within the last fifty years. Sir Richard Birnie, the well-known police magistrate, once remarked, in a tone which seemed almost to indicate that he deplored what might be deemed the decay of national spirit, that he "had not heard of a *mounted* highwayman for thirty years!" In the days of George the Second, people were brought to a stand by highwaymen as they crossed Covent Garden in their chairs; and the parks, and suburbs of London after dark, were left to the desperate of both sexes. Now-a-days, a child might walk from Tyburn to Mile-End at midnight without fear! Still, if we take the aggregate of swindling, "hocussing," and petty larceny, with a number of other mean and dastardly vices in our own generation, and place them against the burglaries and highway robberies in the days of our grandfathers, the present race will have little to boast of.

22. *Obv.*—THE KING'S HEAD TAVERN. The bust of Henry the Eighth.

R.—AT CHANCERY LANE END. In the field, T. A. K.

In the reign of Charles the Second, the Earl of Shaftesbury was president of the *Green Ribbon Club*, which held their meetings here, and were supposed to be the principal promoters of the "Pope-burning tumults." Roger North says, "their seat was in a sort of *carfour*, at Chancery Lane End."

23. *Obv.*—AT THE KING'S HEAD. The bust of Henry the Eighth.

R.—IN FLEET STREETE. Letters detrited.

The bust on this token resembles that on No. 22; and though rudely executed, conveys no bad idea of the portraiture of the English Herod. A friend observes, that for two centuries "the King's Head" meant Henry the Eighth, and the sign of "the Queen's Head" Queen Elizabeth.

24. *Obv.*—AT THE CANARY HOVSE. In the field, *canary*, in a monogram of cyphers.

R.—IN THE STRANDE 1655. In the field, 1^d in the centre of two flowers, rising from a base.

25. *Obv.*—ROBERT COLE AT THE. A cannoneer about to give fire to a piece of ordnance. *His* $\frac{1}{2}$.

R.—In *Hercules Pillers*, in *Fleet Street*, 1666.

Stow gives us a glimpse of the locality in which this sign figured—"Hercules Pillers Alley, on the south side of Fleet-street, near Saint Dunstan's Church" (*View of London*, 8vo. 1708, p. 38). Strype says,—"*Hercules Pillars Alley*, but narrow, and altogether inhabited by such as keep public-houses for entertainment, for which it is of note" (p. 277).

26. *Obv.*—ROBERT HOLMES AT THE. The Prince of Wales' feathers.

R.—FETHARS IN HOLBORN. In the field, HIS HALF PENY.

The Feathers tavern still exists on the north side of Holborn.

27. *Obv.*—THE PALGRAV HEAD TAVERN. The half-length portrait of the Palgrave, with baton in hand, the head uncovered.

R.—WITHOUT TEMPLE BARR. In the field, HER HALFE PENNY. D. B.

This famous tavern stood a short distance westward of Temple Bar, on the site of the present Palgrave Place. The period of the adoption of the sign may be judged, by the fact of the Palgrave being the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, the celebrated queen of Bohemia.

28. *Obv.*—EDWARD IARVIS AT THE GEORG. St. George, on horseback, piercing the dragon.

R.—IN CHEAPSIDE MARKETT. A monogram, in cyphers, of the issuer's name.

Does "Cheapside Markett" mean Honey Lane Market?

29. *Obv.*—AT THE TARLETON. The figure of Tarleton, to the left.

R.—IN WHEELERS STREET. In the field, W. F. W.

Dick Tarleton, the famous clown and actor, was contemporary with Shakespeare. He was the author of a dramatic performance called "The Seven Deadly Sins." He died in 1589. Wheeler's Street was situated in Southwark. The effigy on this token is doubtless a copy of that represented on the sign of the house. He holds in his hand a short stick, with which he beat the tabor.

30. *Obv.*—AT THE D. AND DVNSTANS. The representation of the saint standing at his anvil, and pulling the nose of the "D." with his pincers.

R.—WITHIN TEMPLE BARRE. In the field, I. S. W.

This was the celebrated Devil tavern, so much frequented by Ben Jonson and his friends. Mark the propriety which restricts the name of his infernal highness to the bare initial!—"the D. and DVNSTAN." Was Boniface's wife a puritan, and forbade any irreverent mention of the devil on her husband's tokens? Or was he, too, like mine host o' the Salutation (see No. 35), unwilling to give offence to the sectarians who visited his house? The initials, in the field, of the reverse, seem to indicate that one of the Wadloe family still kept the tavern. Simon Wadloe was mine host in the days of Ben Jonson, who dubbed him "king of skinkers." The popular legend is well expressed on this rare, and perhaps unique token. The fiend is seized by the nose by the saint, while engaged at the anvil after the wont of the early ecclesiastics, who were carefully admonished, by the Anglo-Saxon laws, to betake themselves to some handicraft, and thereby eschew idleness. On a visit to the remains of Mayfield palace, in Sussex, a few years since, the reputed scene of the encounter, we were shown "the same 'dential pinchers" with which the resolute saint performed his feat.⁷ They were large enough for the snout of leviathan. Observe, St. Dunstan works in his mitre, and not in a paper-cap; and the enemy of mankind has the usual attributes with which the painters of the middle ages invested him. Having placed a triple crown on the head of the Deity, they next materialised the devil, and adorned him with the characteristics of a satyr.

⁷ In the hall of the Goldsmith's company is the picture of Saint Dunstan pulling the nose of the devil, while the heavenly host above look on and applaud the deed. "It appears by this," says Pennant, "that Saint Dunstan amused himself in works of gold, as well as iron; so that it is no wonder to see the evil spirit in a place where the *irritamenta malorum* so much abound."

The rambler in London will look in vain for the Devil Tavern beneath the shade of Temple Bar. The house, with a modern front, is now the banking house of Messrs. Child,⁸ who have preserved the *Leges Conviviales* in the Apollo Room where Ben Jonson and his friends held their orgies. Sack and ale no longer flow here, and if any thing "short" is dispensed, it is the shortest change of a check!

31. *Obv.*—THE CASTELL TAVERN. A castle gate.

R.—IN WOD STREETE 1656. In the field, R. M. A.

Whether choice wits or dull phlegmatic citizens assembled here we know not; all we can ascertain is, that the Castle tavern in Wood-street still exists. The usually redundant *e* in *street*, and the word *wood* spelt with one *o*, stand in singular contrast with each other.

32. *Obv.*—RICHARD WASHBOVRNE AT THE. Bust of the Duke of Albemarle, between the letters D. A.

R.—TILT YARD SVTLER 1660. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY R. A. W.

Old Maps of London and Westminster shew that the Tilt Yard was in the immediate vicinity of St. James's Palace. The origin of its designation is obvious.

The date of this token is the year of the restoration of Charles the Second; and the head of Monk is appropriate enough.⁹

33. *Obv.*—AT Y^e 6 BELLS IN DOVE COVRT. In the field, six bells.

R.—AT Y^e LOWER END LVMBARD STREET. A dove standing, with an olive branch in its beak.

⁸ Oliver Cromwell kept cash at this house, and his account is said to be still preserved by Messrs. Childs.

⁹ The date of this token, struck after the arrival of Charles, and those of several others in this list, show that their issue was by no means confined to "the days of late anarchy and confusion," as Evelyn leaves us to infer.

This tavern, as well as Dove Court itself, has been swept away by the improved approaches to new London Bridge.

34. *Obv.*—ANDREW PASHLEY AT Y^e BVLL A bull, and a rude representation of a human mouth.

R.—AND MOUTH IN BLOOMSBVRY. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY.

This house still exists in Hart-street, Bloomsbury. There were others; and a famous inn of the same name remains in St. Martin's-le-Grand. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this is one of the many corruptions of the names of signs in London, and that the proper name was *Boulogne Mouth*,¹⁰ or the mouth of Boulogne Harbour. The town having been taken by Henry the Eighth, greatly elated the English at the time, and led to the adoption of the sign.

35. *Obv.*—THE SALVTATION TAVERN. Two figures, in the costume of the period, saluting each other.

R.—AT BILLINGSGATE. In the field, R. S. M.

We suspect the obverse type of this token to be as palpable a perversion as that of the preceding one; and that the original sign really represented the salutation of the Virgin by the angel—"AVE MARIA, GRACIA PLENA,"—a well-known legend on the jettons of the middle ages. The change of representation was probably accommodated to the times. The taverns at that period were the "gossiping shops" of the neighbourhood; and both puritan and church-

¹⁰ The license which our notice of these tokens gives, affords us the opportunity of remarking, that in our boyish days we heard of strange wilful perversions of the names of well-known inns and public-houses: thus, in metropolitan *slang*, the "Elephant and Castle" was the *Pig and Tinder-Box*; the "Bear and Ragged Staff" the *Angel and Flute*; and the "Pig in the Pound," the *Gentleman in Trouble*!

man frequented them for the sake of hearing the news, which in the days when morning and evening newspapers were not published, brought many together, like the Athenians of old, "to hear some new thing." The puritans loved the good things of this world, and relished a cup of Canary, or Noll's nose lied, holding the maxim—

"Though the devil trepan
The Adamical man,
The saint stands uninfected."

Hence, perhaps, the salutation of the Virgin was exchanged for the "booin' and scrapin'" scene represented on this token. This tavern, which still exists, was celebrated in the days of Queen Elizabeth. In some old black letter doggerel, entitled, "News from Bartholemew Fayre," it is thus mentioned:—

"There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,
Besides beere, and ale, and Ipocras fine;
In every country, region, and nation,
But chiefly in Billingsgate, *at the Salutation.*"

36. *Obv.*—THE MAN IN THE MOON. The figure of a half naked man standing within a crescent moon, and holding by the horns.

R.—TAVERN IN CHEAPSIDE. In the field, s. s. t.

We have seen the subject most quaintly treated on village sign-boards; but "the Man in the Moon" is here not inelegantly represented, however preposterous the idea.

37. *Obv.*—ALLAN WILSON AT Y^e FLEC^e. A fleccc, suspended by the middle.

R.—TAVERN IN HOLBVRNE. In the field, A. W.

38. *Obv.*—NICHOLAS MILLER AT THE. In the field, a star of eight waving points.

R.—TAVERN IN COLEMAN STREET. In the field, N. M.,
and $\frac{1}{2}$.

"This token of the Star," says a friend, "reminds me of a *jeu d'esprit* which I met with in my school-boy days. A

citizen of London being a passenger in a coasting-vessel, overtaken, when at a distance from land, by a violent storm, instead of assisting to lighten the ship, or lending any aid whatever, sat wringing his hands, and crying out,

“O that I could see two stars,
Or only one of the two!”

His incessant repetition of these words attracted the notice of the captain, who abused him for a lubber, and asked what he meant by his constant cry of:—

“O that I could see two stars,
Or only one of the two.”

His answer is thus recorded:—

“I mean,” said he, “where our club did meet,
But shall never meet again;
Either the *Star* in *Coleman-street*,
Or the *Star* in *Pudding Lane*!”

39. *Obv.*—THE COCK ALE HOVSE. A Cock.

R.—AT TEMPLE BARR. 1655. In the field, H. M. C.



Few of our London readers can be in a state so benighted, as to be ignorant of the situation of this venerable house of entertainment. Strangers will find it a few doors east of Temple Bar, near Bell Yard, by *its sign*, which, carved in wood, and gilded like a weathercock, stands, and doubtless has stood for a couple of centuries over the door. Perhaps this quaintly carved figure was snatched from the threatened dwelling by some civic Eneas, when “the greete and dreadful fier” was laying old London in ashes; and, after a time, again mounted as a beacon to way-worn and famished men. Or does it date only from the rebuilding of the city?

Some metropolitan Dryasdust will perhaps give us its history. The "Cock" is now famous not only for its chops and steaks, but also for its brown stout, that beverage, with its "aromatic bitter," which Dr. Carus evidently preferred to the *Braunbier* of his own father-land, when he visited England lately with his majesty the king of Saxony.¹¹ The house is much frequented by lawyers and law-students. We will be sworn that many of our judges in their youthful days have taken their chop here; and that in earlier times Ben Jonson and honest Izaak Walton have drunk their morning-draught (the latter, whose house of business was only a door or two off, tells us he took nothing more for breakfast) at the Cock ale-house. The above cut is from a specimen in the possession of the present landlord.

During the raging of the great plague, the following announcement was made by the master of the Cock tavern:—"This is to notify, that the master of the Cock and Bottle, commonly called the Cock ale-house, at Temple Bar, hath dismissed his servants, and shut up his house for this long vacation,¹² intending (God willing) to return at Michaelmas next, so that all persons whatsoever who have any accompts with the said master, *or farthings belonging to the said house*, are desired to repair thither before the eighth of this instant July, and they shall receive satisfaction."

The foregoing, with the exception of No. 39, are in the collections of Mr. B. Nightingale and Mr. W. Hawkins.

¹¹ See the doctor's recently published journal, *passim*. We are acquainted with a French numismatist, whose eye this may meet, who loved English *stout* as much as Dr. Carus, greatly preferring it to the brandied ports and sherries of this country. Alfred Tennyson assures us, that the port dispensed here is inspiring. See his "Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue."

¹² This shows that, even at that time, the house was frequented by limbs of the law.

The plates are engraved from drawings executed and kindly placed at our disposal by the former.

Last, though not least, are two tokens of renowned London Taverns, politely communicated by Mr. G. Daniel—the *Mermaid* and the *Boar's head*.

40. *Obv.*—AT. Y^e MEAREMAYD. A Mermaid, with her accustomed attributes.

R.—TAVERN CHEAPSIDE. In the field, I. T. M.



The topography of ancient London is not always well made out; and the mention of the Mermaid in *Cheapside* would leave us in some doubt as to whether it is the famed Mermaid of Ben Jonson of “the Mermayd in Chepe,” were not the ordinary appellation of the tavern in those palmy days. There were many taverns with this sign; but we can hardly suppose that there was a Mermaid. Cheapside, and another—the celebrated one—hard by, in Friday Street. We can only reconcile this by the conjecture that there was a back entrance to the Mermaid in Friday Street from Cheapside. Many taverns in this neighbourhood are to be found at the ends of courts running out of the great thoroughfare. If our token, as doubtless it is, be really of the tavern which Jonson and his friends haunted, it was of no less repute than “The Devil” in Fleet Street, being the resort of the wits and poets of the day.

41. *Obv.*—THE BORES HEAD TAVERN. A Boar's head.
R.—GREAT EASTCHEAP. In the field, I. I. B.



What a host of associations crowd upon us as we examine this pledge for better coin. The Boar's Head in Great Eastcheap! We hear Falstaff's snore behind the arras, Prince Hal's "Anon!", Pistol's fustian rant, and Mistress Doll's abuse. Though this *pseudo moneta* dates from a later period, the tavern at the time of its issue had not been greatly changed since the days when Shakspeare wrote. But Eastcheap, long before it was swept away by the improved approaches to London Bridge, had nothing in its appearance to attract the antiquary—the "great fire" had destroyed every ancient dwelling, every vestige of the picturesque, in that quarter. The boar's head, carved in stone, and the work of a later day, was fixed in the wall of the modern house which stood on the site of the ancient tavern, and was occupied by a gunsmith at the time of its demolition.

J. Y. A.

V.

ON THE COINS CALLED "CISTOPHORI."

(Resumed from the last Number, page 16.).

THE letters found on the cistophori of Ephesus are not like those on the Pergamean cistophori, the initials of ma-

gistrates' names. Eckhel thinks that they are numeral letters signifying dates; but to what era they belong is unknown; conjecture is all that is left us on this point.

The coins of Ephesus just described, bear numeral letters running from two to seventy. Eckhel mentions two others bearing the letters ΟΣ(seventy-seven), ΗΕ(eighty-five). He adds, that the money of the cities of Ionia does not ordinarily bear dates; but that the cistophori, being an extraordinary coin, might allow of a departure from the common practice.

We confine ourselves to this note, which may promote research on the subject.

The symbols which accompany the principal types, relate to the worship of the local deities; among others, the head and figure of Diana. The cornucopiæ, the ears of corn and the torch, belong to Ceres who was associated with Bacchus in the mysteries. The other types may indicate the towns associated with Ephesus, for which cistophori were struck in that metropolis, as we shall see below.

LYDIA.

SARDIS.

79.—Cista, serpent, wreath.

R.—ΣΑΡ; quiver and serpents; above, the monogram No. 14, composed of the letters ΑΠΗΡ, and surmounted by a Β; to the right, a thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

80.—The same.

R.—ΣΑΡ; above the quiver, the monogram No. 15; to the right, a full length figure holding a patera.
AR. 7.

Mionnet, 631.

81.—The same.

R.—CAP; to the right, on the field, a serpent escaping from a cista (?) AR. 8.

Mionnet, 630 (He thinks this to be a cast).

The lunar sigma (C), would indicate a more modern date, as we have already seen at Pergamos, No. 15.

TRALLES.

82.—Cista, serpent and wreath.

R.—TPAA; quiver and serpents; thunderbolt. AR. 8.

83.—The same.

R.—On the field to the right, a helmet over a thunderbolt. AR. $7\frac{1}{2}$.

84.—The same.

R.—Id., a poppy-head (?) AR. 8.

Mionnet, 1022.

85.—The same.

R.—Id., a two handled jar or Diota. AR. 8.

86.—The same.

R.—Id., a warrior fighting. AR. 8.

87.—The same.

R.—Id., a Brahmin ox over the sign of the river Meander.²³ AR. 8.

88.—The same.

R.—Id., a hooped Brahmin ox. AR. 7.

²³ The association of the Brahmin ox, a common symbol of Lydia, with the Meander, which is found on several coins of Phrygia, is another proof of the union of these countries for the coinage of cistophori.

89.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, ΑΠΟΑ; to the right, an eagle.
AR. 8.

90.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, a monogram composed of the letters
TPAA; above the quiver, APTE; to the right, a
casqued head turned to the right. AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl., 649.

91.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, ΔION; to the right, a club.
AR. 8.

92.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, MENA. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 1023.

93.—The same.

R.—TPAA; above, Δ; above the quiver, ΠΤΟΑ; to
the right, a full-length figure of Bacchus crowned,
holding in the right hand the thyrsus, and in the
left a bearded mask (Mionnet took it for a Diana
Lucifera.) AR. 6.

Mionnet, 1029.

94.—The same.

R.—ΠΤΟΑ; above, E. AR. 6.

95.—The same.

R.—ΠΤΟΑ; Bacchus crowned, holding in the right hand
the thyrsus, and in the left a vase. AR. 7.

96.—The same.

R.—ΠΤΟΑ; above, H. AR. 6.

Mionnet, 1025.

97.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, TIME; to the right, Juno
Pronuba. AR. 7.

Panel, p. 17. Mionnet, 1026.

98.—A similar one. AR. 8.

99.—The same.

R.—TPA; above, the quiver, PVLCHER PROCOS;²⁴ to the right, a hand holding a laurel-branch; below, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 1028.

Vide Eckhel, Sylloga Prima, p. 49, pl. v. No. 7.

100.—The same.

R.—Above, the Brahmin ox; tripod surmounted by an eagle, and surrounded by two entwined serpents; above, PAMPI. T. F. PROCOS;²⁵ beneath, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ; to the right, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΠΑ. Inedited. AR. 7.

PHRYGIA.

APAMEA.

101.—Cista, serpent, wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—ΑΠΑ; above the quiver, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 187.

102.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ.; above the quiver, ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΩ; to the right, two flutes. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 188.

103.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 7.

104.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 7.

105.—The same.

R.—The quiver and serpents; above, C. FABI. M. F.

²⁴ We have before found the proconsul Pulcher at Ephesus.

²⁵ Pampilus or Pamphilus was a surname of the Bæbia family. M. Bæbius Pampilus, son of Creius and nephew of Quintus, was consul in 573 A.V.C. The one mentioned on our coin, the son of Titus, was a descendant of Bæbius.

PROCOS; beneath the quiver, ΑΤΤΑΛΟ... Ν ...
Inedited. AR. 6.

106.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ; a tetrastyle temple of orbicular shape, surmounted by a full length female figure, holding in her left hand a javelin, and in her right, a patera; round the temple two entwined serpents, and the double flute; above, C. FAN. PONT. PR; beneath, ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΥ.²⁶ AR. 8.

Mionnet, 189.

107.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; quiver, serpents, and double flute; above, LENTVLVS IMPERATOR;²⁷ beneath, ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ. ΒΙΑΝΟΠΟΣ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 190.

108.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; quiver, serpent and double flute; above, LENTVLVS IMPERATOR; beneath, ΜΥΙΣΚΟΥ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 191.

109.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ; quiver, serpents, and double flute; above, M. CICERO PROCOS;²⁸ beneath, ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ. Inedited. AR. 8.

110.—The same. Above the quiver, PVLCHER IMP.; on the field to the right, ΑΡ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 192.

²⁶ We here see the commencement of a change in the type. It is to be remarked, as we have before said, that this took place after the Roman conquest. Fannius was pontifex in 697 A.v.c. and prætor in 699 A.v.c.

²⁷ Lentulus was already consul in Cilicia in 697 A. v. c., as several letters to him from Cicero establish.

²⁸ Cicero bears here only the title of proconsul; on a cistophorus of Laodicea below, No. 121, he has that of Imperator.

LAODICEA.

111.—Cista, serpent, wreath.

R.—ΛΑΟ ; to the right of the quiver, a dog, surmounting the figure of a female head, turned towards the right. AR. 7.

112.—Cista, serpent, wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—ΛΑΟ ; quiver and entwined serpents ; above, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΥΑΡΚΟΥ ; to the right, a winged caduceus. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 672.

113.—The same. R.—ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ; winged caduceus. AR. 6½.

Mionnet, 669.

114.—The same. R.—ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΩΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ ; id.

AR. 8. Mionnet, 670.

115.—The same. R.—ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. Id. AR. 7½.

116.—The same. R.—ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ. Id. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 671.

117.—The same. R.—ΛΑΟ ; above the quiver, LENTVLVS. P. F. IMP.;²⁹ to the right, a winged caduceus ; below, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 674.

118.—A similar specimen. AR. 8.

119.—The same. R.—ΛΑΟ ; two serpents surrounding a quiver ; above, PVLCHER PROCOS ; to the

²⁹ The name of Lentulus is also found on the cistophori of Apanea.

right, AI; winged caduceus; beneath, ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-
ΝΙΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ. AR. 8.

Panel, p. 52. Mionnet, 675.

120.—The same. R.—ΑΑΟ. Μ. TVLL...IMP.;³⁰ beneath
the quiver, ΑΒΑΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 676.

To complete the series of cistophori, we ought to mention those struck in Asia for Marc Antony, who, following the example of Mithridates, took the title of Bacchus. After having conquered Brutus, he made his entry into Ephesus with a procession of men, women and children, clothed as bacchantes and satyrs, crowned with ivy and bearing thyrsi. Plutarch relates an account of these Bacchanalia,³¹ in which Marc Antony was honoured as a second Bacchus. Antony repeated this folly till he came to the city of Alexandria, into which he made the same kind of entry, as Velleius Paterculus relates.³²

Antony's cistophori struck in Asia were probably coined at Ephesus, which added to the others this superior mark of adulation.

121.—M. ANTONIVS IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET.
TERT; heads of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, or
Octavia, side by side.

R.—III. VIR. R. P. C.; Bacchus on the cista, between
two serpents. AR. 7.

³⁰ M. Tullius Cicero succeeded Pulcher as proconsul of Cilicia in 703 A. V. C. With regard to the title of Imperator, the following is what he himself states, "Ita victoria justa imperator appellatus apud Issum quo in loco sæpe ut ex te audiui Clitarchus tibi narravit Darium ab Alexandro esse superatum" (Ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 10). "Thus named emperor after the victory near Issus in the same place, where, as I have often heard you say, Clitarchus relates that Alexander vanquished Darius."

³¹ In Anton. p. 926.

³² Liv. ii. ch. 82.

122.—The same. R.—III. VIR. R. P. C.; the head of Cleopatra or Octavia on the cista, between two serpents. AR. 7.

Eckhel has not pronounced on the doubt entertained by many numismatists, some of whom have attributed the female head to Octavia, and others to Cleopatra. However, he thinks that the latter would have been figured with a crowned head, if it were really meant for her.

It was in 720 A.V.C. that Antony united the finest provinces of Asia and Africa to his other conquests; and the coinage of Cleopatra could not be associated with his own till the year 722, when peace was broken between the triumviri. He was named consul for the third time, in 720. The woman's head on the cista may therefore be that of Octavia; and the diademed head joined to his, that of Cleopatra (Vide Eckhel. *Doct. Num.*, tom. iv. p. 66, et seq.).

We do not intend to speak in this article of other coins bearing the cista³³ not belonging to the series of those especially named cistophori.

I think that several important cities of Asia of which we do not possess cistophori, nevertheless coined them, or else contributed their quota of bullion to those cities which were solely charged with the coinage of this kind of money.

This is proved by the symbols joined to the principal types on the coins, as their legends specify.

The union of these cities is established by these symbols, which appear as types on their coins.

³³ These coins struck in Roman Macedonia, at Cassiope in Epirus, Amisus in Pontus, Diu and Nicæa in Bithynia, and Sidon in Phœnicia. Vaillant speaks of others at Pergamos, Cybira, Anchialus and Sardes, struck under Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, J. Mamæa, Geta and Gordianus.

The torch found on the cistophori of Atarneia and Ephesus is a frequent type of Cyzicus, an important city, of which, however, we do not possess cistophori.

On the cistophori of Parium, the owlet may also call to mind the types of Sigæum in the Troas and Synnada in Phrygia; and the tripod, Cyzicus in Mysia and Smyrna in Ionia.

The cistophorus of Pergamos, No. 27, has for its symbol a lion's skin on a club; and that of Dardanus, No. 54, a bunch of grapes. These two objects are found together on a medal of Tralles, in the Hedervar Museum newly purchased for the cabinet of France and which is described beneath:—

Obv.—A lion's skin on a club, enclosed within a crown of laurel.³⁴

R.—TPA; a bunch of grapes with leaves; on the field to the left, a woman bearing a cornucopia. AR. 6.

Mionnet, Suppl. No. 658.

The bunch of grapes is also found on a brass coin of the same city (Mionnet, No. 36).

Another cistophorus of Pergamos bears for its symbol a victory which is also found on those of Ephesus. This type is also that of Philomelium, a city to which we have seen that a cistophorus which I have restored to Pergamos, was erroneously attributed (No. 49).

Obv.—A bust of a winged Victory, bearing a palm branch on her shoulder.

R.—ΦΙΑΟΜΗΛΑ. ΣΚΥΘ; two cornucopiæ united; in

³⁴ The same type is also found on the reverse of the last Mithridates, king of the Bosphorus (Vide Mionnet, tom. ii. p. 370)

the midst, a thunderbolt; above, a star within a crescent. AR. 6.

Mionnet, No. 887.

Medusa's head on No. 12, is evidently similar to that found on the coins of Rhodes, Abydos and Parium, representing the Gorgon with a hideous expression of countenance.

Ephesus, the principal city of Ionia, which furnishes us with a large number of cistophori, undoubtedly struck them for several cities the types of which are found among the symbols accompanying the quiver and serpents.

Such are the victory and the two cornucopiæ of Philomelium, the tripod of Cyzicus and Smyrna, the pilaster Priapus of Lampsacus, the staff of Esculapius of Cos, the thunder bolt of Tralles.

As to the bust of Diana and the figure of that goddess, they are the peculiar types of Ephesus.

Bacchus is a figure so frequently found on the coins of Asia, that we can hardly attribute it to one city more than another; but if, as I think, his head is at the same time crowned with ivy and rays, it is a type of the island of Rhodes, the coins of which represent him thus:—

On the coins Nos. 94, 96, Bacchus is seen crowned with rays and ivy, and holding in his left hand a bearded mask.

The representation of Bacchus as holding a mask, undoubtedly relates to the theatrical games of which this God was the protector, and which made part of the feasts celebrated to his honour.

A few specimens of antiquity have similar designs. I will mention two in the cabinet of Coins and Antiques in France.

1. A very fine silver patera representing in high relief on the bottom a winged genius supporting itself by the left hand on a lyre and holding in the right hand a scenic mask; near him, an altar. It is the genius of comedy, and one of the attendants of Bacchus (*Vide Memoire sur la Collection des Vases Antiques trouvés en 1830, à Berthouville, par Aug. La Prévost, 1832, page 20*).

2. A very pretty terra-cotta in relief, given by Madame Récamier to the cabinet of coins. This little remnant of antiquity was found at Athens. It represents Bacchus himself, seated on the steps of a theatre and holding in the left hand a scenic mask; height 9 centimetres, 5 millimetres.

Juno Pronuba belongs to Apamea in Phrygia, and particularly to Lydia, where she is represented on the coins of Dios Hieron, Hypaepa, Julia Gordus and Mæonia. It is probably to represent these cities, that it is placed on the cistophori of Tralles, Sardes, and Apamea, which also bear this type, having themselves coined cistophori.

Tralles of Lydia, of which we possess numerous cistophori, presents a great variety of symbols: the thunderbolt, which is found on the coins of Cratia in Bithynia (*Sestini, Mus. Hed. 44, Nos. 1 and 2*); the Brahmin or hunch-backed ox on those of Antioch in Caria, Aradus in Phœnicia, Ephesus, and on those of Magnesia in Ionia; and the same hoofed ox which we find on the coins of Magnesia.

We remarked at No. 88, that this ox was placed on the Mæander, a river which is represented on the coins of the same cities, and also on those of Apamea and Dionysopolis in Phrygia, of Priene in Ionia, and of Tripolis in Caria.

The eagle of Dia in Bithynia, of Cumæ in Æolia, and of

Abydos in the Troas, most probably represents this last city, of which it is the principal type.

The warrior fighting on No. 87, seems to me to represent Hector, and to designate Ilium, which often placed this Trojan hero on its coins.

Laodicea, amongst its symbols, presents to us a dog; in which we recognise the Molossian dog of Colophon in Ionia.

The caduceus may point out to us Cyzicus; but it also belongs to Atarneus, as the following coin proves.

Obv.—Anterior part of a horse, to the right; monogram No. 20, composed of the letters ATAP; above, a folded serpent.

R.—ΑΣΙΝΙΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΜΑΙΩΝ; caduceus.

AR. 5. Mionnet, Suppl. No. 688.

The name of Asinius, a Roman pro-consul, is found on the coins of Sardis and Lydia, struck for Drusus the younger and Germanicus. Drusus the younger died in 776 A.V.C. or 22 A.D. The type of Atarneus being of that date may be of use in fixing that of this cistophorus.

We observe that on the cistophori of Laodicea, the caduceus is winged and terminates in an arrow-head.

We think the following cities may be placed in the number of those, for which cistophori were struck in those towns of which a large number are extant bearing their symbols.

PHŒNICIA—Aradus.

BITHYNIA—Cratia.

MYSIA—Cyzicus, Lampsacus.

TROAS—Abydos, Sigæum.

IONIA—Colophon, Magnesia, Priene.

CARIA—Antioch, Tripolis and the islands of Cos and Rhodes.

LYDIA—Dion Hieron, Hypæpa, Julia-Gordus, Mæonia.

PHRYGIA—Apamea, Dionysopolis, Philomelium and Synnada.

There yet remain un-attributed, the vase on No. 86, belonging to Tralles, the thunderbolt surmounted by a helmet on No. 84, and the Persea on No. 70, belonging to Ephesus, but these figures are not found on any of the coins of Asia.

VI.

ON THE COINS OF THE PATÁN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.

THE history of Mohammedan nations is for many reasons peculiarly suitable for numismatic illustration; not so much in reference to the artistic value of the coins themselves, as from the fact of their usually recording in full the name of the king, the date, and the place of coinage: thus affording direct evidence to three distinct points,—the existence of the sovereign as such, the time in which he reigned, and the place of which he was king.

The value of this species of illustration, as applied to Indian history, is much enhanced by the consideration of the oriental feeling, that the power of coinage was held to be a proof of the attainment of kingly dignity. In the West, we require many forms to make a king, but the Eastern Mohammedan races seem to have held the striking of the

currency, aided by an immediate recitation of public prayers in the names of the princes they had elected, as proof positive of sovereignty. Thus we find the first act of an Eastern reign was invariably the production of a coin; without this, an all-powerful despot hardly felt himself a king.

The medals of Eastern kings, unlike the money of European nations, were really the coins of the sovereign whose name they recorded; they were less the money of the country than a part of the wealth of the king himself. The despotism which enabled the ruler to alter at will the currency of his country, identifies the money itself most intimately with the monarch who issued it; hence, from these metallic records, we can often trace, not only historical facts, but even the workings of men's minds; at least the results of their vices or virtues are frequently to be detected in the silent testimonies they have left behind them. As an instance, the history of few reigns offers so many numismatic illustrations as that of Mohammed bin Tuglak. Amid the endless variety, and at times perfection of execution, of his medals, we discover a register of all the phases of his rule—his early wealth and profusion, his subsequent poverty, and his despotic endeavour to meet it: the one witnessed in the quantity and full weight of his first coinage; succeeded, on the other hand, by the currency of debased metal, ending in the issue of copper tokens which he attempted to pass in lieu of silver. Next we note his forced return to honesty and its consequent effect upon his money; the religious scruples which overtook him in 743 A.H. are also evidenced in his coins, when, after having, in imitation of his predecessors, barely recognised the existence of a Khalif, he is suddenly alarmed by doubts as to his own right to the throne of Hindustan, unsupported as it

was by the sanction of a Commander of the faithful. Then, not satisfied with acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of a Khalif whose name was scarcely known, he at once (entirely rejecting his own titles) stamps his currency with the name of Al Mustakfí billah (the then Khalif of Egypt). The medals of subsequent years indicate the recognition of his title to the throne of Delhi by Al Abbás Ahmed the successor of Al Mustakfí.

The period which our series of medals illustrates, extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, three centuries and a half. During this time, five dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded each other on the throne of Delhi. We are fortunate in this period, following the exact point of Indian history where Professor H. H. Wilson closes his labors in his *Ariana Antiqua*, he having, somewhat *per saltum* indeed, brought down Indian numismatics from the time of Alexander the Great to the commencement of the Patán rule in Hindustan.

In the weight and device of the gold and silver coins of the early Patán kings, but little variation is to be observed from the commencement of the series until the reign of Mohammed bin Tuglak the nineteenth sovereign on our list. The gold coins up to this last date, judging from specimens of the mintage of Balban and Mohammed Sháh were usually denominated سكه *Sicca*, a die (a coin), a word probably used only in the generic sense. The greatest weight of the above pieces, is 172 grains; but we have a Ghiás ed dín Tuglak as high as 173 grains. The silver coins were termed الفضة *Al-fazzat*, the silver (coin), and at times merely *Sicca*. The weight of these ranges up to 173 grains. For both these classes of medals, allowing for wear, we may fairly assume a mint issue of 174 grains. A curious description of coin now brings itself to

our notice, being a sort of medium currency between copper and silver, composed, indeed, of a mixture of these two metals. However objectionable this intermediate coinage may appear in theory, there are many advantages to be conceded to it in practice. In a poor country where great subdivision of the currency was found necessary, it was a manifest convenience to convert so small a mite of silver, as $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Dirhem (10·8 grains) into something tangible, at the same time a pure copper representative of this sum would have been bulky and unmanageable. Under any circumstances some proof of the advantage of this admixture of metals, is to be found in the fact of its having continued in use upwards of four centuries and a half, dating from Anungpál of Lahore, A.D. 1000, with whom this species of coin seems to have originated, through the early Delhi imitators of the Kábúl coinage to the time of Behlolo Lodí, A.D. 1450.

These coins, like those of gold and silver of the same kings, underwent but little change from the accession of Mohammed bin Sám, to the time of Mohammed bin Tuglak. They average, as will be seen from the weights affixed to each engraved specimen, from 52 to 56 grains: of this, the native refiners calculate from 10 to 11 grains to be silver.

The simple copper coins usually weigh 55 grains up to the reign of Balban, whose copper pieces, and those of his successors, rise as high as 66 and 67 grains.

Mubárik Sháh adopted the square form for many of his coins, without, however, varying the weights or values.

Mohammed bin Tuglak, shortly after his accession, in addition to debasing the coinage in every possible way, and attempting to pass copper tokens in lieu of silver money, seems to have altered the whole system of the currency in

a most unaccountable manner. On the one hand, we find his early gold coins of the year 726, A.H. (denominated *Dínars*), brought up to the weight of 200 grains, whereas his silver coins of the same type, are let down from the old standard of 174 grains, to 140 odd. His debased thick silver *Dirhems* of the years 727, 28, 29, and 30, average, even in nearly perfect specimens, only 138 grains. His small silver Quarter-*Dirhems*, again, appear to have remained unaltered, at least in point of weight; while his brass and copper money, on the other hand, displays an endless variety of shape, weight and device. *Fírúz III.* reverted to the old standard for his gold coinage, though the types and inscriptions vary considerably. His debased silver, or silver and copper coins, whichever we may take them to be, seem to have been imitated from the thick silver money of Mohammed bin *Tuglak*, and to have been continued by *Fírúz* and his successors, but little changed, either in weight or purity of metal, down to *Behlolo Lodí*, the thirty-third sultau on our list. We have specimens of the pure silver coinage of Mohammed bin *Fírúz* and *Máhmúd bin Mohammed*, evincing, in their worn state, a probable original mint-weight of the old 174 grains. It is remarkable, considering the manifold coins of other metals of the fifteen kings who followed Mohammed bin *Tuglak*, that are now extant, how very few silver medals of these princes have as yet come to light. The copper coinage of the period intervening between the reigns of Mohammed bin *Tuglak*, and *Shír Sháh*, does not offer any change worthy of remark. This last sovereign entirely remodelled the coinage of his dominions: his silver money, now for the first time denominated *rupee*, is stated by *Jas. Prinsep* to have weighed $11\frac{1}{4}$ *mashás* of 15·5 grains, i.e. 174·4 grains. This weight is, however, easily proved to be too little, as *Marsden* has already published *rupees* of this king rising from 177 to 178

grains. The coins also of Shír's immediate successors, Islám and Ádil, generally weigh more than the 174 grains. Under these circumstances, and allowing for wear and oxidation, we shall be justified in rating the weight of these rupees, at the time of issue, at 180 grains. Shír Sháh's larger copper coinage runs as high as 316 grains; and the smaller pieces average 150 and 40 grains respectively.

The series, it will be seen, is very complete, being wanting in the coins of four kings only out of the forty. The absence or non-existence of the money of these monarchs is perhaps easily accounted for, and will be noticed at large in its proper place.

By far the major part of this collection is as yet unpublished, and, with a view to avoid the imperfection which omissions would cause, some few coins which have already appeared have been re-produced: but in nearly every case the engravings have been taken from originals other than those hitherto made public. Closing this brief introductory notice, it is proposed at once to proceed to describe the medals themselves, prefixing to the whole a full list of the Sultáns and their dates; introducing subsequently in detail a transcript and translation of the Persian inscription to be found on the coins of each succeeding monarch, preceded by a short note of the most prominent occurrences of the reign.

MISCELLANEA.

Upwards of two thousand of the hoard of Northumbrian Stycas discovered a few years since in York, have recently come to light and have been brought before the Archæological Association, by whom, through the medium of Mr. Cuff, we understand, particulars will be laid before the Numismatic Society, at an early meeting.

Between seventy and eighty denarii were lately discovered in excavations made in Well-street, Jewin-street, City. They are of Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius and Faustina, in good preservation. There are no particularly rare types; but the coins would be valuable as a *nucleus* for a collection in the Museum which, it is asserted, is to be formed in the Guildhall.

Two Cufic coins were recently picked up on the sea-side at Eastbourne, Sussex, and are now in the possession of Mr. Harvey of Lewes. One has been examined by Professor Wilson, who observes:—"The margins are so much worn that nothing can be decyphered; but the inscription on both areas is clear enough, and leaves no doubt that it is the same as No. VIII. Marsden, a dinar of Hesham ben abd-al Malek the eleventh Omiya Khalif of the house of Omar, who reigned A.D. 724-743. On the one side we have,

'*Lā ʾillāh ila allāh wahid lā sharik la hoo.*' "There is no God but God the only one, without an equal."

And on the other,—

'*Allāh āhad allah samēd la yāldā lam youladoo;*' "God is one and eternal, neither begetting nor begotten."

These legends were of course levelled against the Christians. The latter is considered as peculiar to the Omiya Khalifs. It is curious that so early a Mohammedan coin should be found in England;* but commerce or the crusades probably rendered the Syrian coinage no stranger in this country in the middle ages."—*Journal of the British Archæological Association.*

Upwards of 12,000 small brass coins of the Constantine family were found a short time since at Lyons. The larger portion of them were brought to this country but did not find a customer. Among one or two hundred taken promiscuously, was a single specimen with the exergual letters P.LON. of very different fabric from the rest. It is unfortunate there is not a general disposition in dealers in coins to aid the numismatist by allowing a scientific inspection of hoards which so often fall into their hands.

* Cufic coins are repeatedly found with Saxon money in Sweden and Denmark.—ED.

The following is a copy of an autograph from Sir Hans Sloane, in the numismatic collection of Mr. B. Nightingale. The address is unfortunately wanting.

London, *September, 22nd, 1710.*

Sr,—I have yesterday sent to Mr. Sprint the transactions you want. When they arrive pray acquaint me if they make you compleat. You will see severall of yo^r own papers. I took that opportunity to send you one of the siege pieces coined, I think, from the Bp. of Tournay's plate in the late siege of that town by Mons^r. de Surville, Commander of it. 'Tis a livre or 20 sols piece. 'Tis wrapt in a paper in one of the transactions. I have not yet had time to look out the fruits. Indeed I am so busied one way or other that I cannot putt names to them, which requires leisure, but I hope soon to do it. I am in the mean time.

Your most obedient Servant,

HANS SLOANE.

Copy of an autograph letter from Dr. Hunter to the Earl of Buchan, accompanying a present of Coins and Seals to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. From the Numismatic collection of Mr. B. Nightingale.

Windmill-street, *September 10th, 1781.*

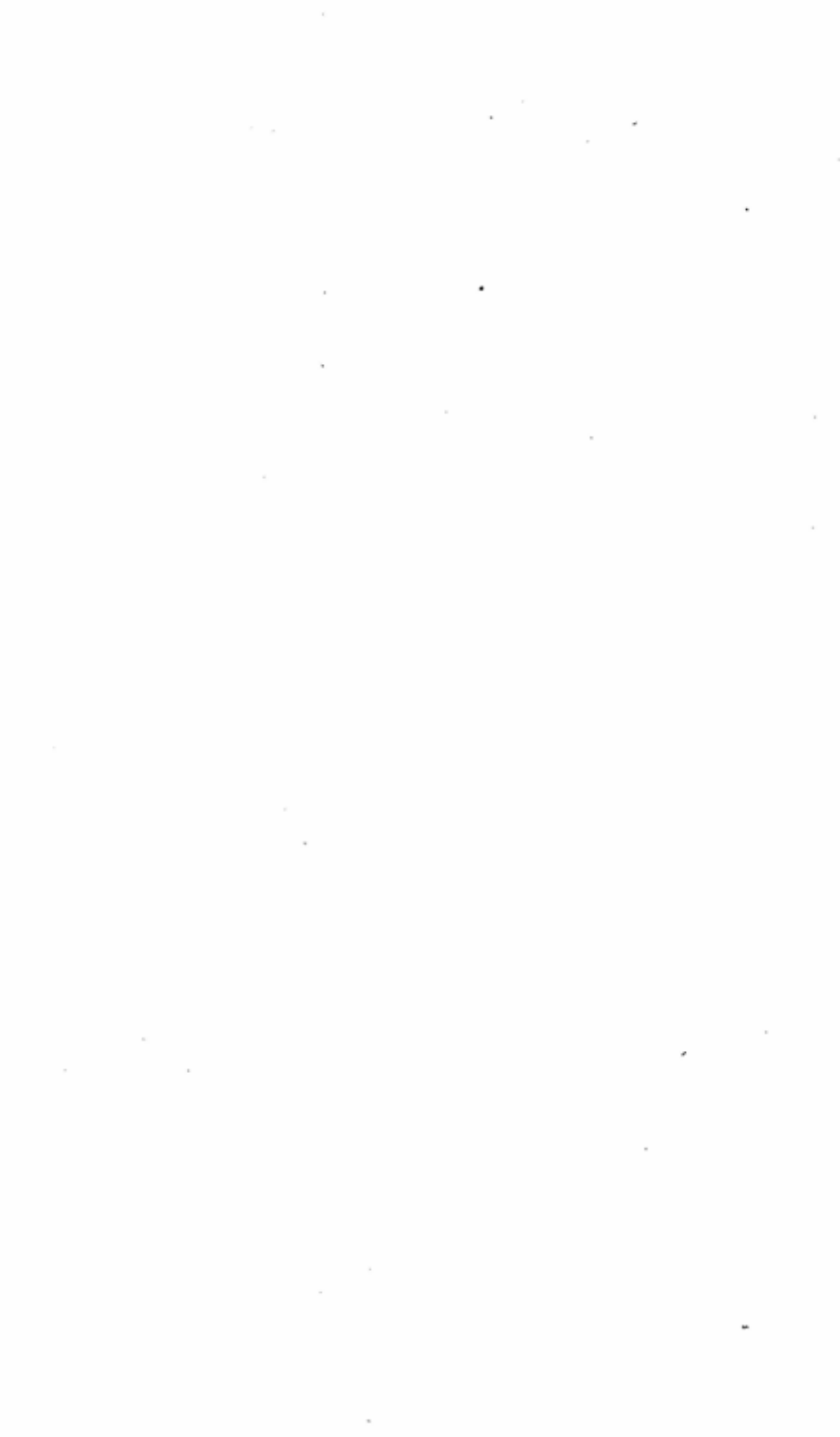
My Lord.—You did me a very sensible pleasure in making me acquainted with Dr. Duncan.* Every body here liked his manners and conversation. I have the honor of returning my sincere thanks for several letters received. That I did not sooner express them, your lordship will I know excuse; because you know that I am at all times neglecting something that I wish to do, and professed always to write no letters except upon business. I heartily wish well to your *child*, and I hope it will live to reflect much honour upon its honoured parent; and I wish so well to it, that if I had not myself already more *children* than I can provide for, I would send it a present in money. To shew my hopes of it, and my regard at the same time, I send a box of Scotch money to be deposited in the Museum, viz. 24 Gold Coins, 42 Silver Coins, and 22 in Billon and Copper. Your Society will soon compleat the whole series, I hope. I have likewise sent two Scotch seals. Your Lordship will do me the honor to present my respects to the Society. Wishing your Lordship health, good spirits, and honorable success in every generous undertaking, I remain with great esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's much obliged and most humble Servant,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

* This was Dr. Andrew Duncan, Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. He was the founder of the Horticultural Society of Edinburgh, and a contributor to every Institution projected for the benefit of his countrymen. He died in 1838 aged 83.—B.N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

- A Correspondent at South Petherton in Somersetshire, has kindly forwarded us an impression of an ancient British coin which he states has recently been dug up in that neighbourhood. It is of the well-known type engraved in the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I., plate i. fig. 9, and, like that example, is of copper plated with silver, as most of these coins are discovered to be.
- Z. The small brass coin is of Hermocapelia, in Lydia, and is scarce: the other is of Syracuse, and very common.
- J. B. A coin of *Massilia*; see "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," plate xvi. fig. 5. Part of the legend is detrited.
- Q. E. D. We are still as sceptical as ever about the finding of Greek coins in England. We do not deny that they have been sometimes dug up. What we contend for is that *they are not ancient deposits*. A single coin or even a dozen may be dropped anywhere and may be discovered with Roman denarii or money of the middle ages, but nothing can be deduced from the finding of a Greek coin under such circumstances. Some years since we were invited by a worthy Baronet to inspect a large parcel of coins, which it was said had been discovered on his estate in Kent. They were both Greek and Roman, and most of them in large brass, and genuine, but in bad condition, and they certainly looked as if they had recently been disinterred; but among them were several Paduan forgeries! Now, assuming that these coins had been dug up as stated, the probability is that they were the produce of some robbery; they had perhaps been buried by those who stole them, and justice having overtaken the thieves, they were for a time hidden, until accident again brought them to light.
- "A Kentish Antiquary" thinks the notion of "Fircobretus" on British coins untenable. We think so too, and we are of opinion that no practical numismatist would hold to it for a single moment. If legends are to be read with such license, what may not be made out of the few letters on British Coins?
- W. D. We shall be happy to see the coins, but *there is great danger in sending them by the post*, and we are by no means desirous of sharing the odium of their loss with the post-office authorities, in case they should miscarry. Our correspondents should bear in mind that there is *no redress whatever* for such a mischance.
- Can any of our readers oblige us with descriptions or drawings of London Tavern Tokens?
- H. Some Antiquaries have suggested that the figure is that of *Diana Persica*. We think it a very early form of *Ceres*. It is clearly an Asiatic and perhaps a Lydian divinity. The figure is found on the coins of Hypæra.









VII.

LIST OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

Date of Accession.		No. of King.	
A.H.	A.D.		
589	1193	1	Muaz ud din, or Shaháb ud din Mohammed bin Sám (1st Dynasty).
602	1203	2	Kutb ud din IbeK.
607	1210	3	Arám Sháh bin IbeK.
—	1211	4	Shums ud din Altumsh.
633	1236	5	Ruckn ud din Fírúz Sháh (Fírúz I.).
634	—	6	Sultán Reziáh.
637	1239	7	Muaz ud din BehráM Sháh.
639	1241	8	Alá ud din Masáud Sháh.
644	1246	9	Násir ud din Mahmúd.
664	1266	10	Ghiás ud din Balban.
685	1286	11	Muaz ud din Kaikobád.
687	1288	12	Jellál ud din Fírúz Sháh (Fírúz II.), (2nd Dynasty, Khiljí).
695	1295	13	Rukn ud din Ibrahim.
—	—	14	Alá ud din Mohammed Sháh.
716	1316	15	Shaháb ud din Umur.
717	1317	16	Kutb ud din Mubárik Sháh I.
721	1321	17	Násir ud din Khusrú.
—	—	18	Ghiás ud din Tuglak Sháh (3rd Dyn. Tuglak).
725	1325	19	Mohammed bin Tuglak.
752	1351	20	Fírúz Sháh bin Salar Rajab (Fírúz III.).
790	1388	21	Ghiás ud din Tuglak Sháh II.
791	1389	22	Abúbekir Sháh.
793	1390	23	Násir ud din Mohammed Sháh bin Fírúz Sháh.
796	1394	24	Alá ud din Sekunder Sháh (named Humáyún).
—	—	25	Násir ud din Mahmúd Sháh bin Mohammed Sháh (Tímúr, 800).
797	1395	26	Nuserut Sháh (Interregnum). Mahmúd restored 802.

Date of Accession.		No. of King	
A.H.	A.D.		
814	1412	27	Daulut Khán Lodí.
817	1414	28	Khizr Khán (4th Dynasty, Syuds).
824	1421	29	Muaz ud din Mubárik Sháh (II.).
839	1435	30	Mohammed Sháh bin Ferid Sháh.
849	1444	31	Alá ud din bin Mohammed.
854	1450	32	Behlól Lodí (5th Dynasty, Lodí).
894	1488	33	Sekunder bin Behlól.
923	1517	34	Ibrahim bin Sekunder (Báber, 930 H.).
937	1530	35	Mohammed Humáyún (Moghul).
947	1540	36	Ferid ud din Shír Sháh.
952	1545	37	Islám Sháh.
960	1553	38	Mohammed Ádil Sháh.
961	—	39	Ibrahim Súr.
962	1554	40	Sekunder Sháh (Humáyún, 962, then Akber).

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

The slight historical notices at the head of the medals of each king, consisting of little more than extracts from Ferishtah, have been inserted in the desire of avoiding continual references to histories of the time. In acknowledging the use made of the works of Briggs and Elphinstone, we cannot do better than refer to them for fuller details than our space admits of. The list of kings, somewhat modified, has been taken from the tables published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Hijra dates have been retained as being in themselves more appropriate to the subject, and as affording a more direct correspondence with the dates to be found on the coins.

It is to be noticed, in referring to the plates, that in the present series of medals, in which the legends read from right to left, the obverse face has been made to take the place usually assigned to the reverse in engravings of European coins.

The very limited number of collections of the class of

coins here described does not admit of any attempt at refinement in expressing the rarity of the different specimens. The most common marks of C., R., V. R., and Unique, have alone therefore been made use of, and these only in reference to the more important medals.

Where an inscription has been restored in full, as in the case of the legend on the outer circle of the obverse of No. 1, the lines above serve to show the words which are to be found in the specimen engraved.

As an English translation of the titles of the kings would interfere with the facility of identification of the individual, who is often better known by his titular designation than by his specific name, and as the strict English rendering of these epithets themselves usually sounds inflated, and, in many instances, absurd, it has been thought desirable to avoid doing more than anglicising the original denominations. It may be sufficient to indicate generally that the titles usually have reference to the religious and temporal celebrity each king at the time of his accession hoped to attain.

FIRST KING (A.H. 589—602; A.D. 1193—1206).

Shaháb ud din, or Muaz ud din Mohammed bin Sám, known also by the title of Mohammed Ghorí, the founder of the Patán dynasty of Delhí, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his appointment, in conjunction with his brother, Ghiás ud din, to the government of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious Alá ud din, the destroyer of Guzní. After the accession of Ghiás ud din to the throne of Ghor in 554 H., Muaz ud din, acting as his general, subdued Khorassan; and, on the conquest of Guzní from Khusrú Malik, in 567, he was nominated to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into

India commenced: in 572, he conquers Multán; in 574, he meets with a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Guzrat; in 575, and in 580, Khusrú, the last of the Guznívedes, now king of Lahore, is assailed; and, at length, in 582, subdued by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindústán, Mohammed Ghorí is totally routed on the memorable field of Thanésur, by the Chohán hero, Prithví, rajah of Ajmír and Delhí. After two years' repose, the disgrace of his defeat still burning within him, he, on the self-same battle ground, again encounters his former conqueror, who is now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of 150 princes. This time victory favours the Ghorians, and a hard-fought field ends in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Mohammedans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindústán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the rest of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to the Indian empire of Mohammed Ghorí were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindústán, and eventual successor on the throne of Delhi, Kutb ud din Ibek. Ghiás ud din, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 600, H.; and, shortly afterwards, Muaz ud din was crowned in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous consequences, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Guzní and Multán: this outbreak, however, was soon suppressed. In 602, Mohammed Ghorí was slain in his tent, in the centre of his own camp, by a band of his Indian subjects, who thus avenged the loss they had sustained in the wars he had inflicted upon their country. At the death of Mohammed Ghorí, the Mohammedan empire in India

extended generally over nearly the whole of Hindústán Proper, Sindh, and Bengal. The sovereignty was, however, held by various tenures, and was most uncertain in its internal geographical limits.

1.—Silver. 74 grs. V.R. A.H. 596. (*Prinsep Collection.*)

Obv.—

هو الذى ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
ولو كره المشركون
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان الاعظم
غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح
محمد بن سام

R.—

ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلدة غزنه بسنه ست و تسعين و خمس مائة
الناصر لدين الله السلطان المعظم معز
الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر
محمد بن سام

TRANSLATION.

Obv.—It is he that sendeth his messenger, with guidance and true faith, that he might exalt the (true) religion above all, though the infidels be averse thereto.—There is no god but God. Mohammed is the prophet of God! The most mighty sovereign,—Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din, Abúlfateh.—Mohammed bin Sám.

R.—This Dirhem (was) struck in the city of Ghazneh, in the year Five hundred and ninety-six.—Al Násir le din illah.¹ The mighty sovereign, Muaz—ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar.—Mohammed bin Sám.

2.—Silver. 68 grs. R.

Obv.—

الله محمد رسول الله السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو
المظفر محمد بن سام

¹ The name of the khalif.

Margin.—

ضرب هذا الدر سنة اربع و مائه

R.—

الله لا اله الا الله الناصر بالله السلطان الا عظم غياث الدنيا والدين
ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

Margin.— و لو كره المشركون &c., same as No. 1, *obv. margin.*

TRANSLATION.

Obv.—God. Mohammed is the prophet of God. The mighty Sultan, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din, the victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

Margin.—This Dirhem (was) struck year . . and four

R.—God. There is no god but God. Al nasir billah. The most mighty Sultan, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din, the victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

Margin.—Same as No. 1.

N.B. There is a gold coin in the Masson collection, weighing 99 grs., similar in size and shape to this silver Dirhem. It is in bad preservation, and the inscriptions are scarcely legible.

The above coins in the joint names of Ghiás and Muaz ud din, bear testimony to the associated regal powers of the two brothers. It is to be noticed, however, that the superlative "The greatest," is applied to the one king, while "Great," is all that is extended to the conqueror of India. It will be observed from the coins which follow, that, on the death of his brother, Muaz ud din took to himself the superlative

A more intricate question is, however, suggested by the legends on these coins, in regard to the identity of Mohammed bin Sâm himself. It will be seen from the transcript above given, that in one place is to be found the title of

Ghiás ud din, and in another the epithet of Muaz ud din, each in conjunction with the name of Mohammed bin Sám.

Up to the present time, Muaz ud din, otherwise in all written history styled Shaháb ud din, has invariably been identified as Mohammed bin Sám, or Mohammed Ghorí; but the inscriptions on our coins would indicate that if Muaz ud din is *Mohammed bin Sám*, so also is Ghiás ud din.

The coins of Mahmúd, the son of Ghiás ud din, the nephew and Afghán successor of Muaz ud din, distinctly proclaim the king who issued them the son of Mohammed bin Sám (vide foot of page 99).

The necessary inference from this evidence is that Ghiás ud din owned the name of Mohammed; and as all are prepared to admit Muaz ud din's claim to that designation, there is nothing left but to conclude that both brothers bore or assumed the generally favourite appellation of Mohammed.

Should the legends of the medals themselves be considered as insufficient proof of the strength of the position now assumed, it may be as well to advert to any readily accessible *written* evidence which may serve to throw a light on the question.

Price, in his Mohammedan History,² on the authority of the "*Khalásut ul Akhbár*," calls Ghiás ud din, *Mohammed bin Sám*; leaving Shaháb ud din undesignated beyond this title, and an allusion to his parentage as derived from Sám.

The accuracy of the translation of the passage referred to is fully confirmed by a reference to an original MS. of the *Khalásut ul Akhbár* in the Library of the Royal Asiatic

² Vol. ii. p. 455.

Society;³ and the correctness of the purport of the text of the work in question is directly upheld and more fully explained by the following passage from the *Rozsut us Safá*.⁴

و به استصواب اشرف آن دیار سلطان غیاث الدین را بر تخت
نشاند و قبل از سلطنت محمد بن سام را شمس الدین میگویند
و برادرش شهاب الدین میخواندند چون بر سر پر جهانداري
تمکن یافت ملقب بسطان غیاث الدین گشت و برادرش را
معز الدین لقب دادند

“And with the approbation of the nobles of that country (he) placed Sultan Ghiás ud din on the throne. Prior to his accession, Mohammed bin Sâm was called Shums ud din, and his brother was designated Shaháb ud din; (but) when he became king, he became entitled Ghiás ud din, and his brother was surnamed Muaz ud din.”

The conclusion above suggested, if not entirely borne out, is very strongly supported by the application of the designations of Mohammed to both brothers, in an earlier part of the last mentioned work, on the first introductory notice of their names on the occasion of their imprisonment by Alá ud din.

3.—Silver. 71 grs. R.

Obv.—

السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Margin.—

شہور

ضرب هذا الدرهم

³ No. 101, MS. Catalogue. See also, *Mirát al Alem*, No. 55, *idem*.

⁴ *Mír Kháwand*, known as *Mírkhond*. MS. Catalogue, No. 43, Library of the Asiatic Society.

R.—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Margin.—

هو الذى ارس و دين الحق ليظهره ى الدين كله

TRANSLATION.

Obv.—The most mighty sovereign, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din,
The victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

Margin.—This Dirhem was struck . . . months . . .

R.—There is no god but God. Al nâsir le din illah, The commander of the faithful.

Margin.—Imperfect, same as No. 1 *obv. margin.*

A similar medal, in the possession of Dr. Swiney, has the date 598.

The Guznî coins of the above class, in the sole name of Muaz ud din Mohammed bin Sâm, were most probably issued after the death of Ghiâs ud din; they are remarkable in having apparently served as models, in point of form, for the silver money of the succeeding kings of Delhi.

4.—Mixed copper and silver. 49 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم محمد بن سام

The most mighty Sultan, Mohammed bin Sâm.

R.—Horseman in outline, and श्री हमीर: Sri_Hamírah (Amír).⁵

5.—Mixed Copper and Silver. 49 grs.

Obv.—Same as No. 4.

R.—Rude figure of a cavalier.

6.—Silver (impure). 46 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

The most mighty Sultan, The victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

R.—The same as No. 5.

⁵ A Devanâgrî abbreviation of the full Arabic title of *Amír Al Mominín*, The commander of the faithful.

7.—Silver and Copper. R.

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين

R.—محمد بن سام

8.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs.

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين

R.—ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

9.—Silver and Copper. 49 grs. C.

Obv.—सा महमद सामे Sa (Shah) Mahamad Same.

R.—श्री हमीर: Sri Hamirah.

10.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs. C.

Obv.—महमद सामि Mahamad Sami.

R.—Horseman.

Though not strictly to be classed among the coins of the Mohammedan kings of India, it may not be inappropriate to notice in this place, with reference to the title of Mohammed bin Sâm, the following unique unpublished medal of Táj ud din Ilduz, the governor of Guzní, who attempted to throw off his allegiance on his master's defeat in Khwarizm.

This coin, in weight 96 grs., has on its obverse, السلطان المعز The Sultan Al Muaz, in a small square area; and on its broad margin, the legend السلطاني عبد و مولا تاج الدنيا و الدين يلدز The royal servant and slave, Táj ud dunia wa ud din Ilduz. The reverse has the same inscription as No. 3, but the date on the margin is unfortunately wanting. The copper coins of this governor (who subsequently became king of Guzní) are common, and a specimen, struck in the time of Mohammed bin Sâm, may be referred to in No. 18, pl. xx., *Ariana Antiqua*.

Before dismissing the subject of the coins of Mohammed Ghorí, a reference should be made to certain specimens of what is known as the later Kanoúj coinage bearing the

name of Mohammed bin Sám and Mír Mohammed Sám, in Hindí. These medals are given in detail in Professor Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* (pl. xx., figs. 25, 26, 27, and 27 suppl. pl.) It has not been thought necessary to reproduce these coins in the present notice of the money of the Patán sultans, as, from the absence of the names of any other kings in our list, it is evident the medals in question were merely a temporary continuation of the local mintage on the first conquest of the country by the Mohammedans.

SECOND KING (A.H. 602—607; A.D. 1206—1210).

From the actual accession of Kutb ud din Ibek, in 602 A.H., till his death in 607, with the exception of his conquest of Guzní from Ilduz, and its subsequent loss, but little worthy of note occurred; and the empire remained much in the state to which he himself may be said to have brought it prior to his investiture with the emblems of kingly dignity by Mahmúd, the nephew and Afghán successor⁶ of Mohammed Ghorí.

Kutb ud din, while acting as viceroy for Mohammed bin Sám, may be supposed to have issued the money of his government in the name of his master. Nos. 8 and 9 bear signs of being the produce of the Delhi mint, and are probably some of the coins produced under Kutb ud din's auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates against an inference that Ibek struck no money in his own name; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power, before

⁶ The copper money of this prince, in form and weight and device, similar to the coin No. 4, bears the following legend:—

السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام The most mighty Sultan, Mahmud bin Mohammed bin Sám.

he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere forms of royalty; among which last is most certainly to be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.

The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kutb ud din Mubárik.

THIRD KING (A.H. 607; A.D. 1210—1211).

Arám succeeded his father, Ibek; but after a reign of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altumsh, at that time governor of Budáon.

11.—Copper. 54 grs. V.R.

Obv.—المظفر ارام شاه السلطان The victorious Arám Shah, the Sultan.

R.—Rude figure of a cavalier.

12.—Copper.

Obv.—Idem.

Owing to the paucity of specimens (two only being known), their bad preservation, and wretched execution, it is difficult to feel assured of the correct attribution of the above coins: suffice it to say, the identification is sanctioned by all orientalists who have been consulted on the subject.

FOURTH KING (A.H. 607—633; A.D. 1211—1236).

Shums ud din Altumsh, like Ibek, had originally been a slave; rising, however, to be general and son-in-law to his master, he finally displaced that master's son. From his accession, in 607, with the exception of his victory over Ilduz, who was in possession of Guzní and other provinces,

and an attempt to subdue his brother-in-law, Kubá Chah,⁷ king of Sindh, his reign was, for the time, comparatively tranquil, and remained undisturbed even by the threatened advance of the Moguls under Zengiz Khán. In 622 he finally overcame Kubá Chah, and re-attached Sindh to the empire. During this year, the governor of Bengal and Behar was brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the monarch of Delhí, which had been disclaimed by Baktiar Khíljí since the death of Ibek. The sultan was employed for the next six years in the subjection of those portions of the country which had remained independent, or, having been conquered, had revolted; and, before his death, Altumsh ruled over all Hindústán, with the exception of some few insulated portions. The powers of Mohammedan sultans, as rulers, as indeed those of all lordships of Hindústán, from its earliest history, seem to have been most indeterminate: at times, and in certain districts, extending to absolute possession of soil and people on the part of the king, and full and perfect subjection on the part of the local governors and those they ruled over; liable however at any time to endless fluctuations, as the strength of the sovereign, the turbulence of the governor, or the spirit of independence of the people, rose or fell. In other cases, allegiance reached only so far as a nominal recognition of supremacy, or even a tacit abstinence from denial of such; suffice it to say, that among the multifarious

⁷ For coins of this prince, vide *Ariana Antiqua*, fig. 19, pl. xx.; *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. iv. figs. 47, 28, 29, pl. xxxvii. The inscriptions on these pieces may be read as follows: Nos. 19 and 47—*Obv.* ناصر الدنيا و الدين قباچه السلطان Násir ud dunia wa ud din Kubá Chah, a Sultan. R.—Horseman and श्री हमीर. And Nos. 28 and 29—*Obv.* The bull Nandí and श्री कुपाचहा सुलतां (Sri Kupáchahá Sultan). R.—Same as Nos. 19 and 47.

tenures, and the many changes it was constantly liable to, one general rule of absolute monarchy prevailed—that the length of the sword was the limit of the sway. During the course of Altumsh's reign, he received investiture from the Khalif of Baghdad—a most important recognition to a Mohammedan government, and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the court of Baghdad of this new Indo-Mohammedan kingdom. Mohammed bin Sâm, though he adopted the titles of the khalifs on his coins, did so probably not so much with reference to his Indian kingdom as on the strength of being the successor to the throne of Guzní; the monarchs of which dynasty had for centuries been acknowledged as faithful Mussulmans, and their subjects considered as part of the flock of The Commander of the Faithful. The Indian conquests constituted, during the lifetime of Mohammed bin Sâm, only a portion of the whole Guzní empire. Shortly after his death, however, when the Indian provinces were erected into a separate kingdom, they ceased to have any dependence on the rulers of the countries whence the race of their new kings had come. Altumsh died in 634, and was succeeded by his son.

13.—Silver. 164 grs. R. (*Prinsep Collection*.)^s

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المعظم التمش
 السلطان The most mighty Sultan, Shums ud dunia wa
 ud din abúl Muzuffir Altumsh, the Sultan.

^s Neither Oriental authors nor Indian moneyers seem to have had any very definite idea of the correct orthography of the name of this king. Rashid ud din, Mirkhond, and the author of the *Khalásut ul Akhbár*, all differ slightly in their mode of spelling this word; and the masters of the Delhi mint will be seen to have been as little particular. The indecision of these last is somewhat to be excused, seeing the Túrki origin of the title in question,

R.—**لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين**
 There is no god but God, Mohammed is the prophet
 of God. Al Mustansir billah, the Commander of the
 Faithful.

Marg.—**ضرب هذا الدر** - - - **ماية**

A second specimen (Lord Auckland's) has the same obverse, but a different reverse, and the inscriptions on both sides are in squares within circles.

R.—**Area في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين**
 In the time of Al Mustansir, the Commander of the
 Faithful.

Marg.—**ضرب هذه النقة** - - - **ستمايه**

14.—Silver. 53 grs. V.R.

Obv.—**श्री सुलतां लिहितिमिसि सं १२८३** Sri
 Sultan Lititimisi sun, 1283 (Sumvut, 1283; A.H. 623).

R.—In circle, **السلطان ايلتمش** Sultan Aeltumsh.

15.—Silver and Copper. 48 grs. C.

Obv.—**असावरी श्री समसोरलदिवि** Bull and Asá-
 wuri sri Sāmāsórāldivī.

R.—**सी चाहरदिव** Sri Cháhar div. Horseman.

The clear cutting of the die of the above coin, and the number of specimens of a similar character it is possible to refer to,⁹ leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the inscription on the obverse, Asáwuri sri Sāmāsórāldivī. The legend on the reverse however presents a slight difficulty, incident to the transition state of the Devanāgrī alphabet, in the initial letter of the name. It has been proposed to read this as R or V; but the occurrence of both these con-

which, Col. Briggs has shown, was derived from the Túrki word **التمش** Sixty, at which number of Tomans our slave king was heretofore purchased.

⁹ Ariana Antiqua, pl. xix., figs. 16, 31, 34, 37.

sonants in the latter part of the name itself, where they are found differing in shape from the letter in question, makes this rendering inadmissible.

In regard to the coin itself, there is reason to suppose that it derives its origin from the mint of some *Hindú* prince, as a reference to the *Hindú* creed seems to be signified in the use of the word *Asúwurí*, as well as by the fact that coins having the same reverse are extant, bearing the old Brahmanical name of *Srí Samanta dev*, in the place here taken possession of by the title of *Sri Shums ud din*.

It may therefore be taken to be the sample of the money of some *Hindú* ruler, who, once independent, became subsequently subject to the arms or policy of *Altumsh*; the emperor, in upholding the local sovereignty of his new vassal, probably obliged him to acknowledge the supremacy of his lord paramount, by inscribing the imperial titles on the currency he was still allowed to issue.

The name of *Cháhur dev* is a known one in the family of the last *Hindú* king of *Delhí*, and was borne by a brother of *Prithví Rajah* himself, as well as (if *Abul Fazl* is to be trusted) by an immediate predecessor of this prince on the throne of the *Chohans* at *Ajmír*.

16.—Silver and Copper. 48 grs. C.

Obv.—सुलतण सा समसदौ *Sūltān sū sūmāsā dīn.* Bull.

R.—श्री हमीर *Sri Hāmīrāh.* Horseman.

17.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs. C.

Obv.—شمس الدنيا و الدين اليتمش *Shums ud dunia wa ud din Aletumsh.*

R.—Horseman and *Sri Hāmīrāh.*

18.—Silver and Copper. 53 grs. C.

Obv.—شمس الدنيا و الدين اليتمش السلطان *Shums ud dunia wa ud din Aletumsh, the Sultan.*

R.—Horseman and *Sri Hāmīrāh.*

19.—Copper. 26 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان The Sultan.

R.—عدل Just.

20.—Copper. 24 grs. C.

Obv.—عدل سلطان The just Sultan.

R.—بحضرت دهلي (Struck) at the capital, Delhi.

21.—Copper. 28 grs. R.

Obv.—شمس Shums.

R.—श्री समस दीन Sri Sāmās dīn.

22.—Copper. 25½ grs. R.

Obv.—عدل The Just.

R.—شمس Shums.

23.—Copper. 25½ grs.

Obv.—سلطان Sultan.

R.—التمش Altumsh.

There is a silver coin in the Prinsep Cabinet, weighing 163 grs., inscribed: *Obv.*—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله *Rev.*—في عيد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين which will probably be found to be a medal of Altumsh, struck on the arrival of the diploma of the khalif, recognising the independent Mohammedan empire of Delhi. In the absence of any name except that of the khalif, and in the total loss of the marginal legends, it is of course impossible to decide with certainty to whom this coin belongs. However, the style, the shape of the letters, the khalif's title, and particularly those titles standing alone, all justify the supposition regarding its origin which is now advanced.

FIFTH KING (A.H. 633—634; A.D. 1237—1238).

Ruckn ud din Fírúz's unimportant reign of seven months' duration was terminated by the elevation of his sister, the celebrated Rezíah.

24, 25, 26.—Copper. 55 and 42 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان المعظم ركن الدين بن السلطان The great King,
Rukn ud din, son of the Sultan.

R.—Horseman.

For some time after their first discovery these coins were attributed to Rezíah, and even now, assigned as they are to Ruckn ud din, there is much doubt as to their due appropriation: the best specimens, however, favor the reading now adopted, and show the ركن of Rukn pretty distinctly. There is a difficulty in the shape of the بن (bin), which looks more like بنت (binut); but the form of the coins and the tenor of the inscription differ so much from those of Rezíah, the only woman of our series, that these reasons alone would lead to a rejection of her claim to the money in dispute.

SIXTH REIGN (A.H. 634—637; A.D. 1236—1239).

Sultán Rezíah. This princess presents the remarkable incident in Mohammedan history of a reigning queen! Ferishtah, speaking of her, says, "there was no fault to be found with her but that she was a woman!" a most orthodox Mohammedan sneer, and one unfortunately too well justified in the present instance. Her capacity for business, and her sufficiency to fill and adorn a throne, had already been shown during the reign of her father, who, when absent from Delhi, had left her in charge of his

government in preference to his sons. Nor did her early conduct after her elevation disappoint the fair expectations raised in her favor. The ability with which she dissolved the army of an opposing faction, even after its victory over her own forces, evinced aptitude in diplomacy of no mean order: her civil and judicial administration was equally admirably conducted: and, in short, she displayed all the qualities of an able and just sovereign. All her high endowments, all her achieved successes, were however destined to be sacrificed to a woman's weakness, which seems to have been reprobated more from the fact of the object of her attachment being of low degree (an Abyssinian slave) than from any supposed impropriety in the mere act of an empress loving. The objections taken by the nobles to her manifest partiality to this person were brought to a crisis by her elevating him to the dignity of Amír ul Amráh (chief of the nobles). Open revolt ensued, which resulted in the dethronement of the queen, who was made over for safe custody to Altunia, one of the leaders of the insurrection, and her brother, Behráún, raised to the musnud in her stead. Here again Rezíah displayed her subtilty in persuading Altunia to marry her, and then readily induced him to support her claims against his former confederates; which was so effectually done that it was not until after two severe battles that she was finally made prisoner and put to death.

27.—Silver. 165 grs. Unique. (*Prinsep Collection.*)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم جلالة الدنيا والدين ملكة ابنت التمش
 السلطان مهرة امير المؤمنين The most mighty Sultan,
 Jellálat ud dunia wa ud din (the glory of the world and the
 faith), the Queen, the daughter of the Sultan Altumsh, the
 beloved of the commander of the faithful.

R.—Area - - في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين
In the time of the Imám Al Mustunsir, the commander of
the faithful.

Marg.—ستماية - - النضة

28 and 29.—Copper. 47 and 49 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم رضى الدنيا والدين The most mighty
Sultan, Reziáh ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Horseman and Sri Hämīrah.

Up to the present time the term *Reziáh* has been looked upon as implying a name and not a title; the coins above appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact: the silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give *Reziáh* as a name; and the copper coins positively, in displaying the *Reziáh* joined to the *ud dunia*, &c. In a Persian MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, denominated "Tarikhi Hind" (No. 125 of MS. Catalogue), she is also adverted to under the title of رضى الدين Rezi ud din, without any further attempt at designation. The meaning assigned to رضى is, *satisfying*. Her name may, therefore, be rendered, The approved.

It will be remarked that the coins retain the *Sultan* in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian inscription is duly preserved in the feminine: this curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position, strongly supports the account of Ferishtah, that "changing her apparel" she "assumed the imperial robes."

SEVENTH KING (A.H. 637—639; A.D. 1239—1241).

The reign of Muaz ud din Behráh Sháh, in duration little more than two years, was marked during its continuance by the usual amount of intrigues, assassinations, and mutinies common to an Eastern court under a weak

monarchy, and was finally brought to a close by the siege of the capital by the vizir, and the subsequent imprisonment and murder of the sovereign.

A partial invasion of the north of India, by the Moghuls of Zengiz Khán, took place during 639; they, however, penetrated no further than Lahore.

30 and 31.—Silver and Copper mixed. 54 and 56 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين The most mighty Sultan, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Horseman, and السلطان the Sultan.

32.—Silver and Copper mixed. Unique.

Obv.—सुलतान सा मुयज्जदी Bull and Sultan Sā (Shah) Mūyǎzǎdīn.

R.—श्री हमीर: Horseman and Sri Hāmīrah.

EIGHTH KING (A.H. 639—644; A.D. 1241—1246).

The uncertainty of succession to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the accession of two kings in one day. Eiz ud din Balbum, a son-in-law of Altumsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Behrám; but, before night, he was supplanted by Alá ud din Masáud, a son of Rukn ud din Fírúz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen.

The reign of this prince was marked by the occurrence of two invasions of India by the Moghuls: in the one case, they penetrated through Thibet into Bengal, where they were met and defeated by the troops on the spot; in the other instance, their approach from the West was checked by the advance of the sultan in person. A two years' rule, otherwise remarkable only for the evil conduct of the sovereign, closed with his imprisonment and death.

A coin similar to No. 33, with the exception of the name of the khalif, which indicates an earlier date.

^a.—Copper. 169 grs. V.R.

R.—في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المو منين In the time of the Imám Al Mustansir, the commander of the faithful.

N.B. Al Mustansir died in 640 A.H.

33.—Silver. 168 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مسعود شاه—
The mighty King, Alá ud dunia wa ud din.
The victorious Masáud Sháh, the son of the King.

Marg.— - - - - سنة احدى

R.—Area - - - في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المو منين
In the time of the Imám Al Mustassem, the commander of the faithful.

Marg.—سنة احدى واربعين وستمائة . . . Year 641.

34.—Silver and Copper. 50 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين The mighty King,
Alá ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—مسعود شاه Masáud Sháh.

35.—Copper. 49½ grs.

Obv.—الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين مسعود شاه—

R.—مسعود شاه

36.—Silver and Copper. 52 grs.

Obv.—مسعود بن سلطان?

R.—Rude figure of a horseman.

37.—Copper. 56 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم مسعود السلطان

R.—Rude figure of a horseman.

38.—Copper and Silver. 41 grs.

Obv.—अलादिण Bull and Aládin.

NINTH KING (A.H. 644—663; A.D. 1246—1266).

The early part of the reign of Násir ud din Mahmúd has been rendered celebrated by the acts of his vizir, Balban; whose successful arrangements for the defence of the frontier from the attacks of the Moghuls (the crying evil of the day) were followed by measures equally efficient for the internal security and consolidation of the empire, by bringing under more perfect subjection many of the local Hindú rajahs, who had been enabled to disclaim their allegiance during the preceding reign. The jealousy of the sultan, consequent upon the great energy and influence of his vizir, led to the dismissal of the latter; but the somewhat authoritative demand of many of the provincial governors necessitated his speedy restoration. The exemplary private life of this monarch offers a strong contrast to the results usually attendant upon the power of unlimited indulgence incident to the occupation of an Asiatic throne.

39.—Silver. 170 grs. C.

Obv.—Area السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمود
ابن السلطان Date 688 H. The most mighty Sovereign
Násir ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Mahmúd, the
son of the Sultan.

Both *Obv.* and *Rev. margin.*—ضرب هذه النقة بحضرة دهلي
في سنة ثمان خمسين وستماية This silver (coin was)
struck at the capital, Delhi, in the year 658.

R.—Area - - في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين
In the time of the Imam Al Mostassem, the commander of
the faithful.

40.—Silver and Copper. 51 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين The most mighty
Sovereign Násir ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—श्री हमीर: محمود Mahmúd. Sri Hamírah.

41.—Copper. 54 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين The most mighty
Sovereign Násir ud dunia wa ud din.

TENTH KING (A.H. 664—685; A.D. 1266—1286).

Mahmúd, leaving no male issue, the facile succession of his powerful vizir followed almost of necessity. Balban's conduct after his elevation was not altogether in accordance with the promise of his behaviour while a minister. Once a slave, now a king, the first endeavour of his reign was to destroy the very race of Túrki bondmen among whom he himself had lately been numbered. In his own altered position, legitimacy was to become paramount. The inalienable succession of his own heirs was now to be secured. The contingency under which he had risen was, for the future, to be rendered impossible. To this end blood was not spared; and in this spirit the lives of his own near relations were sacrificed with but little compunction. The severity also which led to the wholesale depopulation of a province, albeit of bandits, attended by the slaughter of 100,000 human beings, was scarcely to be justified by a plea of far more urgent expediency than can be advanced in the instance in question. About this period, the disorder of the neighbouring kingdoms consequent upon the invasion of the Moghuls, drove the most illustrious men from all quarters to seek refuge in India. There, were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world; and, at their head, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. For a time, the old Hindú capital became, as it were, the centre of Mohammedanism; and Delhi shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Moslim occupiers of a few short years before.

The unsparing rigour of the emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the one serious revolt of Tugrul, the governor of Bengal, who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and was successful in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length, the sultan proceeded against him in person, and coming upon the whole force of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, he in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tugrul was captured and slain. Balban's loss of his eldest son, who fell in the hour of victory, fighting against the enemies of his race, the Moghuls, hastened the end for which, at the age of eighty, nature must already have prepared the way; and the emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

^b.—Gold. R. 169 grs. Date 678 H. (*Marsden*.)

Same type and legends as No. 42, with the exception of the word الله in place of الفضة

42.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بلبن
السلطان The most mighty Sovereign, Ghiás ud dunia wa
ud din. The victorious Balban, the Sultán.

R.—الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين The Imám Al Mustassem,
commander of the faithful.

Margin.—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة ثمان وسبعين
وستماية This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhi,
in the year 678 H.

A change is to be noticed in the coins of Balban, in the rejection of the words *fī uhud*, "in the time of," "under

the auspices of," usually prefixed to the name of the khalif on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbasside khalif, Mustassem, was put to death in 656 A.H., by the Moghul conqueror of Baghdad, Hulaku Khan. It has been the subject of remark, as an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to employ the name of this martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease; its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional; pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Mohammed, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet.

43.—Copper. 47½ grs. C.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين The most mighty Sovereign, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Centre بلبن Balban. *Marg.* श्री: सुलतां गयास दीं
Sri Sultán Ghiás ud din.

44.—Copper. 67 grs. C.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم The most mighty Sovereign.

R.—غياث الدنيا والدين Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

45.—Copper. 26 grs. V.R.

Obv.—عدل غياثي (The) just (coin of) Ghiás.

R.—حضرت دهلي At the capital, Delhi.

ELEVENTH KING (A.H. 685—687; A.D. 1286—1288).

Prior to the decease of his father, Bakarra Khan, then governor of Bengal, had been disinherited from the succession to the throne of Delhi, and Kaikhusrú, the son of his elder brother, Mohammed, had been nominated in his

stead; but the nobles present in the capital at the time of the death of Balban superseded this last arrangement by elevating Kaikobád, another grandson of the emperor, and the son of Bakarra Khan himself. The governor of Bengal, on receiving information of the state of matters at Delhí, marched towards that metropolis for the purpose of asserting his own right to the crown; but being met on the way by the army of his son, he returned to Bengal without any further effort, leaving Kaikobád the now undisputed monarch of Hindústán. The early part of this reign, conspicuous for the dissipation of the king, and the influence and oppressive conduct of the vizir, was marked by the foul and needless massacre of the Moghul mercenaries in the service of the state. The emperor's father, who had retained the kingdom of Bengal, hearing of the position of thralldom to which his son was reduced, by the domination of his vizir, endeavoured to remedy the evil by warnings. Seeing these of no effect, he moved an army towards the capital. The son was not slow to meet him, and the two forces encamped nearly in sight of each other. But Bakarra Khan, or, as he had been called since the death of Balban, Násir ud din, finding himself inferior to the troops opposed to him, and being unwilling to leave his son, as of old, in the power of his minister, desired an interview, with the object of endeavouring, by personal persuasion, to effect what written remonstrances had failed to accomplish.

Under the advice of the vizir an audience was conceded, but only on terms of the most abject humiliation possible for the father. When, however, these came to be carried out, and the meeting between father and son actually took place, in the presence of the whole court, the supremacy of nature had its way, and the son would now have humbled himself even as he had been taught to humiliate his sire.

The meeting ended in a recognition of the independence of the kingdom of Bengal, but was useless for the purpose for which it had been sought. The murder of the minister, in 688, but little improved the now paralytic king's position; he was only surrounded by new intriguers for power, the competition for which ended in favour of Fīrūz Khiljī, whose last step to the foot of the throne was over the corpse of his predecessor; the small remains of whose life left little to be done by his assassins.

46.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر كيقباد
 السلطان Date, 687. The most mighty Sovereign, Muaz
 ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Kaikobād, the Sultan.

R.—الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين The Imām Al Mustassem,
 commander of the faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة سبع وثمانين
 وستمائة This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhī,
 in the year 687.

47.—Silver and Copper. 54 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين The most mighty
 Sovereign, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—كيقباد Kaikobād. श्री सुलतां मुःजुदी Sri
 Sultān Mu-ujudin.

This word presents a curious instance of the difficulty of expressing the sounds of certain letters of the Arabic alphabet in the written Hindī language. There being no consonant corresponding with the Arabic *z* as used in معز the die-cutter, not satisfied with the मुयजदी of his predecessors, has apparently invented a letter for the occasion, composed of the final visarga (:) placed horizontally; to

which has been attached the vowel و ū; making the whole something like *Mu-ohujudin*.

48.—Copper. 51 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الأعظم The most mighty Sovereign,

R.—معز الدنيا والدين Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

49.—Copper. 59 grs.

Obv.—عدل معزي The just (coin of) Muaz.

R.—محضرت دهلي. The capital, Delhi.

TWELFTH KING (A.H. 687—695; A.D. 1288—1295).

Fírúz's accession does not appear to have been immediate on the death of the late king, as native historians mention the succession of Shums ud din Kai Kaus, a son of Kaikobád,⁸ who is said to have reigned for three months and some days. Ferishtah also, though he does not allow him a separate reign, indirectly countenances the fact, in his notice of the murder of this prince by Fírúz, as an early act towards the consolidation of his own power.

The seven years' domination over the destinies of Hindústán of this, the first of the race of Khiljí, notable, in as far as the sovereign was concerned, only for his unwise clemency, has been rendered remarkable by the extensive campaigns of his nephew, Alá ud din; whose expedition into the Dekhin—as successful as it was daring—was the means of securing for this leader the enormous wealth which enabled him first to rebel, and eventually to possess himself of the crown of Delhi. Intrigue, however, was found more suitable than overt insurrection; and, in a moment of unwise confidence, Fírúz ventured with but a slight

⁸ See Aien i Akhberi and Mirát al Alem, &c.

escort into the camp of his deceiver, where he was assassinated under circumstances of more than usual atrocity.

50.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه.
The most mighty Sovereign, Jelal ud dunia wa ud
din. The victorious Fīrūz Shāh, the Sultan.

R.—Area الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين
The Imām Al Mustassem, commander of the faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة خمس وتسعين
وستمائة This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhī,
in the year 695.

51.—Silver. 52 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين The most mighty
Sovereign, Jelal ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Centre فيروز شاه Fīrūz Shāh.

Marg.—श्रीः सुलतां जलालुद्दीन Sri Sultān Jalaludin.

52.—Copper. 67 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم The most mighty Sovereign,

R.—جلال الدنيا والدين Jelal ud dunia wa ud din.

53.—Copper. 29 grs.

Obv.—عدل فيروز شاه Just (coin of) Fīrūz Shāh.

R.—بحضرت دهلي At the capital, Delhī.

There are certain coins similar in character to Nos. 16, 32, and 41, bearing the legend सा जलालद्दिन which probably should be attributed to this sultan; but in the absence of any means of identification beyond the mere title, and advertg to the apparent discontinuance of the use of this

species of coin at this period, there may be some doubt as to the possibility of the specimens in question belonging either to Reziah or Jelál ud din Khárizm Sháh; who, it is to be remarked, held sovereignty in the Punjab, for a short time, during the reign of Altumsh.

THIRTEENTH KING (A.H. 695; A.D. 1295).

On the murder of his father, in the camp of Alá ud din, Rukn ud din Ibrahím was elevated to the throne of Hindústán. His party being in possession of the capital, gave him a temporary existence as a king—a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor, he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. Alá ud din, having already at his command a powerful army, and the booty of the Duckhun supplying him with means of increasing his force to an almost unlimited extent, had merely to advance to Delhí to put an end to the rule of the boy king, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multán.

54.—Silver. 167 grs. Unique. (*Lord Auckland's Cabinet.*)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه

السلطان بن The most mighty Sovereign, Rukn ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Ibrahím Sháh, the Sultán, son of—

R.—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين فيروز شاه ناصر امير

المومنين The most mighty Sultán, Jelal ud dunia wa ud din, Fírúz Sháh, supporter of the commander of the faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت دهلي سنة خمس وتسعين

وستمايه This silver (coin was) struck in the capital, Delhí, in the year 695.

55.—Copper. 52 grs. R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين The most mighty
Sovereign, Rukn ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—ابراهيم شاه بن فيروز شاه Ibrahim Sháh, son of Fírúz Sháh.

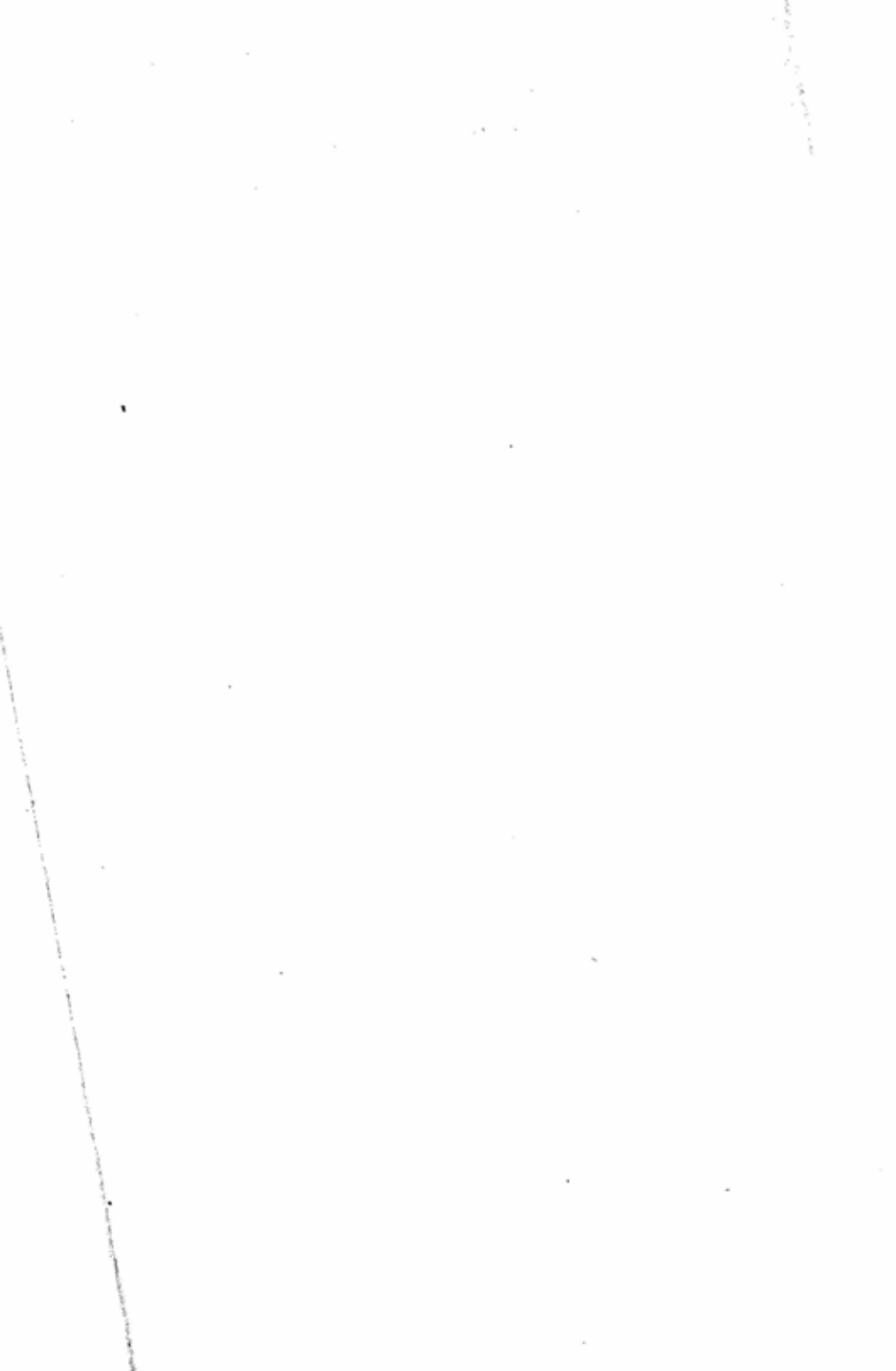
56.—Copper. 38 grs. R.

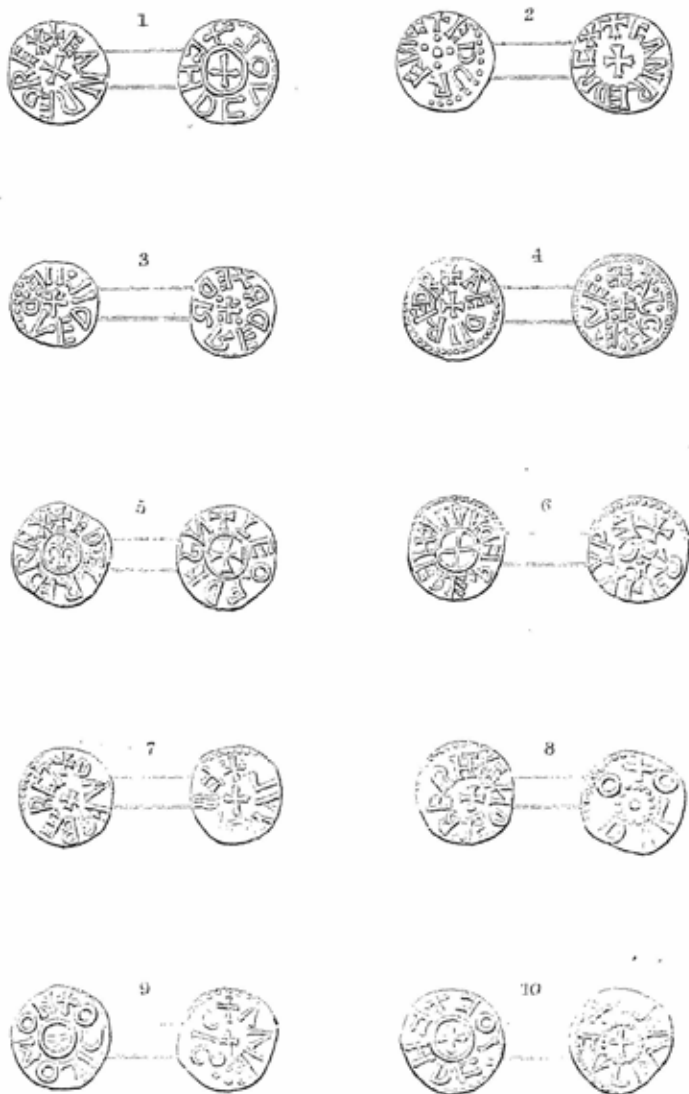
Obv.—عدل ابراهيم شاه Just (coin of) Ibrahim Sháh,

R.—ابراهيم شاه بن فيروز شاه son of Fírúz Sháh.

FOURTEENTH KING (A.H. 695—716; A.D. 1295—1316).

Alá ud din Mohammed Sháh, the most energetic and powerful of the Moslim monarchs who had yet swayed the destinies of Hindústán, consolidated his authority after his accession by means as little scrupulous as those which he had used in its attainment. His own individual efforts to this end were aided by the successes of his generals against the last remaining stronghold of the family of Fírúz in Multán, the repulse of a Moghul invasion in the Punjab, and the reduction of the kingdom of Guzrát. In 698 A.H., Northern India was desolated by another invasion of the Moghuls: this time, the expedition being conducted with skill, and supported by an overwhelming force, the assailants met with but little effectual opposition till they reached the gates of Delhí. Here, under the walls of his capital, the sultan was forced to give them battle: "two such mighty hosts had not before been arrayed against each other since the day when the spears of Islám were first exalted in Hindústán." The conflict was not of long duration, and victory declared itself in favor of the arms of Alá ud din. The activity of the pursuit gave a lesson to the invaders which sufficed for the time to carry them well out of the country they had looked upon as already conquered.





VIII.

ON ANGLO-SAXON COINS DISCOVERED AT YORK
IN THE YEAR 1842.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

FOR the account of this discovery of Anglo-Saxon stycas we are indebted to Mr. Hargrove, of York; who states, that "on Saturday, the twenty-third of April, 1842, as some workmen were digging a drain, in connexion with the Public Rooms then building in St. Leonard's Place, York, and not far from Bootham Bar, they came in contact with the foundations of the old city wall, which formerly passed from the Bar to the multangular tower near St. Mary's Abbey. On striking the spade near the bottom of the said foundation, at a depth of five and a half feet below the surface of the street, they discovered a great number of small coins, much corroded, and which, the workmen said, would have filled a peck measure, there being not less than 10,000 of them. One of the workmen declared that they had been enclosed in a pot, which was broken by a pick-axe. The coins ultimately passed into the hands of Mr. Hewison, the silversmith, who sold them at sixpence each."¹

A small portion of this discovery was examined by our late Secretary, Mr. C. Roach Smith, and the result laid before the Society in a paper read the 25th of May, 1843, and published, with illustrations, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. xxv., pl. 99. In the same paper are com-

¹ *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii., p. 230.

municated the particulars of a further portion, examined by Mr. Haigh, of Leeds. We have now, by the kindness of Mr. Hargrove, the additional number of 2,258, sent to the British Archæological Association² for the purpose of examination; and making together a total number of 3,489 coins from the York discovery.

In the latter parcel we have 531 of Eanred; 919 of Ethelred; 63 of Redulf; 61 of Osberht; 1 of Eanbald; 237 of Vigmund; 23 of Vulfhere; and 423 illegible, or uncertain.

MONEYERS OF EANRED.

Aldates	Eadvini	Hendilber*
Adulfere*	Eanred	Heardulf
Aelser*	Eordrdæ*	Odilo
Broder	Fordred	Odilo mon
Coenred	Fuldnod*	Monne
Daegberht	Fulcnod	Radulcis, or Gaduteis
Eolnod*	Gadutes	Vulfred
Edenod*	Herred	Wintred.
Eadvulf*		

Only single specimens of the following names occur:—Adulfere, Aelser, Daegberht, Eordrdæ, Fuldnod, Hendilber, Heardulf, and Odilo mon; and those marked with an asterisk are new.

ETHELRED'S MONEYERS.

Aldhere, or Alfhere	Coenred*	Eanwald*
Anfesig	Cunemund	Eaninald*
Anred	Cunenard*	Eardvulf
Aeilred*	Eanred	Eonred*
Bardvulf*	Eanredi*	Edelor mu*
Brother	Eadvini*	Edlebearht*
Ceolhard	Eadvi*	Fordred

² The Council of the Association suggested this detailed report being drawn up for the Numismatic Society.

Leotdegn	Vulfred	Vulfrie*
Monne	Vandlebearht	Werned
Odilo	Vulfsic*	Wintred.
Ordvulf*		

Single specimens of Bardvulf, Ceolhard, Cunenard, Eonred, Edelor mu, Eaninald, Eanredi, Ordvulf, Vulfrie, and Werned. Those with an asterisk are new. One of Fordred has *mon* in addition.

The artists of Ethelred must have taxed their ingenuity for variations in writing his name. We have, in addition to those already published, Edred rex, *Elred rex*, *Ed rex*, Leofdegn, Eaduni,

Eden rex, *Edinred*, *Edenred rex*, and *Edylred rex*.
Eadvini, Eardvulf, Eardvulf, Cuthberht.

Amongst the Hexham coins so fully described and beautifully illustrated by Mr. Adamson, in vol. xxiv. of the *Archæologia*, are figured four specimens of Ethelred, with an animal resembling a hound (pl. xlvii., Nos. 161 to 164). One only of that type occurs in the present parcel; but on it appears, in front of the animal, a trefoil ornament, which is not seen on either of those engraved by Mr. Adamson.



The reason of this figure not appearing in the plate of the *Archæologia*, probably was owing to the imperfect state of the coins, and consequently escaped observation; as, on examining the specimen in the British Museum, I find evident traces of the same figure, though not very distinctly marked.

The trefoil is shewn on two of the sceattæ in Ruding, pl. iii., Nos. 5 and 9; which Mr. Hawkins, in his work on "The Silver Coins of England," has removed, with the others in the same plate, from the kingdom of Kent to that of Northumberland, and the correctness of which removal is corroborated by this fine styca of Ethelred. The trefoil on the Anglo-Saxon coins seems to have been an emblem peculiar to Northumberland, as seen on a penny of Sihtric, in the Pembroke Catalogue, pt. 4, tab. 1; also, on one of Regnald, in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i., p. 119; and on another of Anlaf, in Hawkins, pl. ix., No. 128.

MONEYERS OF REDULF.

Aldhere . . .	3	Brought forward	33
Coened . . .	11	Monne . . .	15
Eardulf . . .	1	Herred . . .	1
Eoenre . . .	1	Cuthbearht. . .	8
Broder . . .	9	Huaetnodd. . .	2
Fordred . . .	8	Uncertain . . .	4
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Carried forward	33	Total	63

The names of Eardulf, Eoenre, and Broder, are new on the stycas of this monarch.

Very little appears to be known of this sovereign. He is stated to have held the sceptre only a few months, and to have been slain in battle with the Danes. If this statement be correct, Redulf must have been fully occupied during this brief space of time in preparation for defending his kingdom, and resisting his invading enemies; he could have had very little leisure to attend to the details of a coinage. The fact however of so many of his coins being found in the York hoard, and also in that of Hexham, is hardly reconcileable with so short a reign, and leads to a doubt of the accuracy of the meagre account we have of him. Com-

paring the number of his coins with those of Osberht found in the York parcel, I am led to the supposition that history has not furnished us with the true term of Redulf's reign.

MONEYERS OF OSBERHT.

Banulf	.	.	7		Brought forward	26
Eanulf	.	.	13	Edelhelm	.	2
Eanred	.	.	1	Monne	.	13
Ednure	.	.	1	Vineberht	.	10
Eduhu	.	.	2	Vulfred	.	2
Embrm	.	.	2	Uncertain	.	8
			<hr/>			<hr/>
			Carried forward	26		Total
						61

The following names are new, Eanred—Ednure—Eduhu—Embrm—and Vulfred.

A neat, well executed piece, reading ONARS REX. *Rev.* BANULF, may possibly belong to Osberht.

EANBALD.

It may be worthy of remark that in so large a parcel found in the city of York, the place of the episcopal mint, only one coin of this prelate should occur, though he held the see upwards of thirty years, and for the most part contemporaneously with the sovereign Eanred, of whom we have between five and six hundred specimens.

MONEYERS OF VIGMUND.

Coenred	.	.	84	Ethelveard	.	.	45
Elfheard	.	.	2	Eoenreo	.	.	1
Edelhelm	.	.	41	Hunlaf	.	.	62

Elfheard is the only new name among this prelate's moneyers.

Three coins of this archbishop have his name and title on both sides; one reads AREP on one side, and IREP on the other, and three specimens occur with the Saxon \mathfrak{M} on the reverse.

VULFHHERE.

Of this archbishop there are twenty-three coins, all by the same moneyer, Vulfred, and all of the usual type, except one which has four crescents on the reverse, and so far is a new type, and the moneyer's name is doubtful. (See Plate, fig. 6.)

UNCERTAIN.

Amongst the uncertain we shall place first that singular type figured by Mr. Smith, pl. vi., vol. vii., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; of these there are about twenty specimens. On the obverse, according to Mr. Smith, the characters are all very nearly alike; on the reverse, several different names occur, as will appear below. Three bear that of Redulf, and, as we do not know this name as a moneyer on the styca, we should, but for the circumstance of other moneyers' names occurring, have unhesitatingly have given these to the sovereign of this name. As it is, however, I fear we must look further for a proper appropriation. If we take the letters as they stand on the coins, we shall be unable to make out any name satisfactorily, but if they be read as upside down, we may, with the help of a little conjecture, decipher Eardvulf. I suggest, therefore, the possibility of these curious pieces belonging to Heardvulf the predecessor of Eanred.

VARIETIES OF THIS CURIOUS STYCA.

EV×DDAFE—REDVVL[†] two

EV+ÐAIRE—EADVINI

EV×ÐDAFE—BOEN

PIEM

EARHV

DINVL

DANID } The same name, one retrograde.

The following two of the same class are unexplicable by me:—

EV+DIRE—VIDHEL

EV+DIRE—I IENVVLF.

These four moneyers, Ethilveard, Ethelhelm, Eardvulf, and Edilred, are found on both sides of several specimens.

PIECES WITH TWO MONEYERS' NAMES.

Eardvulf and	Haedath	Edelhelm	and	Eidmund
Eardvulf	„	Vidvini	Huea	„ Vieden ³
Eardvulf	„	Edelhelm	Huea	„ Heocir ³
Edelhelm	„	Odilo	Odilo mon	„ Vulfsc (fig. 9.)
Edelhelm	„	Vulfred	Vendelberht	„ Odilo (fig. 8)

Amongst the uncertain is a coin that reads VLRED REX.

Though the present parcel does not furnish any piece heretofore unknown, yet it is by no means without interest to the Saxon collector; as it affords some very fine specimens of the coins of Osberht and Vulfherc, which are generally found of coarse workmanship, indifferently preserved, and scarcely legible.

J. D. CUFF.

³ These are probably the same.

IX.

INSCRIPTION ILLUSTRATING THE LEGENDS OF
THE COINS OF VABALLATHUS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 24th, 1846.]

DR. LEE announced the following communication from Sir Gardiner Wilkinson.

“At a bridge over the small rivulet called Nahr el Feedár, near Gebayl, on the coast of Syria, is an inscription upon a broken column containing the names of Zenobia and her son Vaballathus, which, I believe, has not been noticed by travellers who preceded me. It was, unfortunately, nearly dark when I passed it, and from the imperfect light and decayed condition of the stone, I had some difficulty in decyphering it. The upper part is lost, and the last letters of some lines are defaced; sufficient, however, remains to show that it was a dedication to one of the Roman Emperors, either Claudius or Aurelian, and to Zenobia the mother of the Emperor Vaballathus, the son of Athenodorus, apparently by a proconsul whose name is in the first remaining line.

“The inscription is as follows:—

. Ὡς
 ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ
 ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΩΣ ΕΒΑΚΤΩ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΙ . . . ΑΖΗΝΟΒΙΑ
 ΕΒΑΚΤΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΗΤΗΤΟΥ . . .
 ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΝ ΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ
 ΑΓΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ . . .

“The name of Athenodorus in the last line is important from its showing that Vaballathus was not, as usually sup-

posed, the son of Odenathus and Zenobia, but of her first husband. Another point of importance (to which my attention was first directed by Colonel Leake) is, that the name Athenodorus clears up the question long agitated respecting the word ΑΘΗΝΥ or ΑΘΗΝΟΥ, in the legends on the coins of Vaballathus, and this renders the inscription particularly interesting to numismatists. We also learn from it that Vaballathus reigned at Palmyra conjointly with his mother Zenobia, after the death of Odenathus; and did not 'receive for the first time the title of Autocrat when made ruler of a small province in Armenia.'¹ The claim, too, to that honour thus appears to have been greater than we have been led to suppose; and the Roman conqueror, when he failed to capture the son of Zenobia, deserved less credit for generosity in continuing to him the imperial title in a small and remote province.

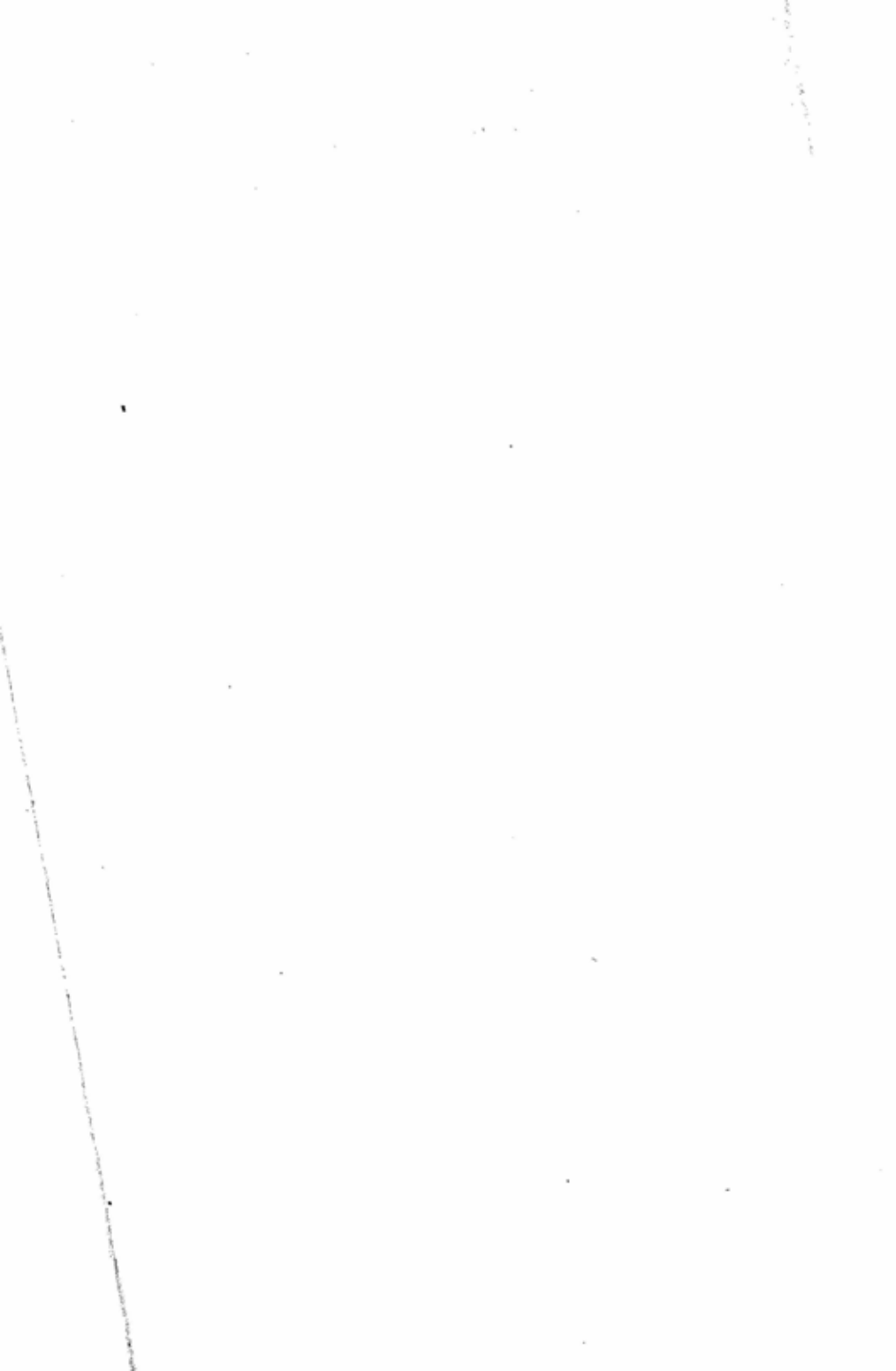
"GARDINER WILKINSON."

"August 14th, 1844."

¹ Gibbon, c. xi.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Revue de Rouen* speaks of the discovery, at Caudebec-les-Elbœuf, a locality abounding in Roman remains, of 8,100 Roman coins, deposited in an earthen vase, covered with a tile. Of these, 6,800 are of Postumus; of the remainder, one half of Gallienus and Salonina; the other half, of Gordian III., Philip, father and son, Otacilia, Trajanus Decius, Etruscilla, Trebonianus, Gallus, Volusian, Valerian, Saloninus, Valerian the younger, and Victorinus. The most recent is a coin of Claudius Gothicus. All are stated to be in billon. Among the less common of these coins are one each of Æmilian, Cornelia Supera (R. VESTA), Quietus, and Lælianus; four of Marius; and two of Mariniana. They have been secured for the Rouen Museum.





DN MAVR · GR PP AVG

JEWELLED COIN OF THE EMPEROR MAURICIUS.

FOUND AT BACTON, NORFOLK.

1846-

Drawn & engraved by F.W. Fairholt. F.S.A.

X.

OBSERVATIONS ON A JEWELLED COIN OF THE
EMPEROR MAURICE, FOUND ON THE 31ST OF
DECEMBER, 1845, AT BACTON, NEAR CROMER,
NORFOLK.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28th, 1847.]

NORWICH, October 30th, 1846.

Gentlemen,

YOU are doubtless aware that an enchased gold coin, bearing on its obverse an imperial portrait, and a legend similar to some of those which Banduri and others assign, with confident unanimity, to *Mauricius Tiberius*,¹ was found about ten months ago at Bacton, on the coast of Norfolk, and has since been presented by Miss Gurney, of North Repps Cottage, in the same county, to the British Museum.

Having had my attention called to the circumstances under which this interesting relic of antiquity was brought to light, and placed in the hands of a lady whose intelligence and discrimination were a sure guarantee for its immediate safety, and the most judicious regard for its future preservation, I am induced to hope that the following notice of the subject will not prove wholly unacceptable to the Numismatic Society—particularly as my humble remarks will have the advantage of being accompanied with a graphic illustration, from the pencil and by the etching needle of an able artist, himself a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of your council.

¹ Emperor of the East, son-in-law and immediate successor of Tiberius (II.) Constantinus; proclaimed Augustus, A.D. 582, and murdered by the usurper Phocas, at Constantinople, A.D. 602.

This specimen of the ancient *monilia numismatica* was picked up by a poor woman, on her way from the village of Bacton to that of Mundsley, as it lay on the beach near high water mark, imbedded in a branch of sea-weed.—It consists of a small gold piece of money, surrounded by a circular border of the same precious metal, measuring about an inch and a half in diameter. The setting is composed of thirty-eight cells, irregular in their forms, and of different sizes; twenty of these are filled with bits of red coloured stone (probably garnet). The remaining cavities are empty. The annexed engraving distinctly shows the spaces which are devoid of stones; the irregularity of their form is doubtless owing to the broken and damaged thin plates that separate each, having been twisted by violence. The *belière*, or loop, by which ornamental articles of this kind were evidently meant to be suspended, exhibits on the front side a braided or chain pattern, of elaborate and not inelegant workmanship, which also extends itself over the reverse side. With the exception of the loop the back part of the jewel is quite plain; the border encircling the coin but leaving its reverse open to view. On the side of the portrait the inner rim is raised a little above the level of the medal. The outer rim is enriched with an interlaced pattern, corresponding to that on the loop.

The custom of setting gold coins and medallions, in a circular or octagonal frame, of the same metal, may be traced to an early period of the Augustan History. This custom became more and more common in the lower ages, especially under the Byzantine emperors, and was *imitated* long after the western division of the Roman world had fallen a prey to incursions from the great northern hive of nations. The *entourage* of these medals is ornamented with in-layings of either red or blue coloured glass,

or, like the one found at Bacton, with stones, such as sapphires or garnets. But whilst the obverses of these coins are thus surrounded with enrichments, the backs of them offer only a plain smooth surface, through which the reverse of the medal exhibits itself—a sign, perhaps, that the wearing such jewelled portraiture was intended as a compliment to the reigning prince, or at least to the imperial throne, as a mark of loyalty and devotedness.

The late M. Steinbüchel, in his observations on certain Roman gold medallions in the imperial cabinet at Vienna,² many of them of extraordinary size and elaborateness of workmanship, of the highest rarity, and in the finest preservation, says—

“En examinant ces médaillons, on peut observer qu'ils ne sont en partie que *des médailles d'or de la grandeur ordinaire, qui n'excèdent les dimensions communes qu'à l'aide d'enchassures dont elles sont ornées* [the jewelled coin found at Bacton agrees precisely with this description], et que même les autres médaillons d'un coin effectivement plus grand ont presque tous une semblable enchassure. Il est évident que *tous ces médaillons étaient destinés à être suspendus*, les anneaux, qui sont plus forts à mesure que les médaillons sont plus pesants, démontrent que tout était calculé, même l'effet d'un frottement continu.”

These medals represent the heads of the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Caracalla, Carus and Carinus, Maximianus Hercules, Constantine the Great, Constantius the younger, Valens, Valentinian the younger, and Gratian. Adding to these the pieces preserved in

² Notice sur les Médaillons Romains en Or, trouvés en Hongrie, dans les années 1797 and 1805, par Ant. Steinbüchel, Directeur du Musée, I R. etc., etc.

other museums, and published by different authors, an almost unbroken series of gold medallions is formed, even to nearly the end of the empire —“avec cette particularité (adds M. Steinbüchel), que plus l'empire Romain allait en décadence, plus ces médaillons grandissaient, de manière qu'il paraît qu'on en recherchait toujours plus le mérite à raison de leur poids.”

The rings, or loops, attached to most of these coin-lockets, and the hooks fixed at the backs of others, clearly shew that they were designed to be suspended from the neck, or to be fastened to the dress, as decorations of honour. In their original destination, those legends and types were in preference chosen, which related to specific records of great victories, or to solemn vows for the health of the emperor, or to the election of one of the Cæsars to the consulate. Afterwards, and especially when the empire, bereft of its glories, sunken low in degradation, and tottering to its fall, had few if any events but those of disaster to commemorate, little or no discrimination was observed in the choice of types and legends for bordered coins, provided they were gold, and bore “the image and superscription” of the reigning prince, or of some other imperial personage. But the ancient custom probably continued to be kept up, in conformity to which they were made to serve as presents from the emperor to his friends and courtiers ; or (what was of infinitely more pressing importance, when invasions of barbarians became more and more overwhelming) to be distributed, in all sizes, but almost always with looped mountings, either as military rewards (*dona militaria*), wherewith to honour those imperial officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves by their valour and fidelity ; or as splendid, and in some cases very costly, gratifications, by means of which it was vainly

sought to buy off or conciliate the kings and other chiefs of the dreaded northmen.

And now, with regard to the coin itself: this is of the ordinary module of the *aureus*, and quite equal, in point of fabric, to most of the gold money minted under the reigns of much earlier Byzantine emperors than Mauricius. On the obverse both legend and type are perfect. The letters, though rudely fashioned and differing in size from each other, are distinctly marked. On the reverse, the type and also the inscription are in some places worn, in others effaced. On the whole its state of preservation is good—indeed surprisingly so, if there be valid reasons for supposing that it has been subjected for ages to the abrasive action of the waters and sands of the sea.

As will be perceived, on inspection of the accompanying plate, the coin has for the legend of its obverse DNΩΔV. CRPPAVC; and for type, the head of the emperor, with diadem, the breast being covered with the *paludamentum*. For legend of reverse it bears VICTO[RIA] AVCCV (*Augustorum*), between is CONOB inscribed backwards.³ The type is a globe with a cross upon it. In the field, on the right of the cross, M, on the left A. The double C, meant of course for GG, doubtless refers to Theodosius, son of Mauricius, declared *Augustus* by his father, A. D. 590. The other constituents of the reverse need no comment. But the legend of the obverse presents, in the way of a satisfactory interpretation, difficulties which I do not pretend to have

³ Besides this reversal, another rather unusual feature will be noticed, viz. that instead of being divided from the type by an exergue, the letters CONOB are separated from VICTORIA on one side and AVCCV on the other by two short double lines, slanting towards each other, thus: "CONOB".

succeeded in removing—yet I shall venture, as briefly as possible, to submit what has occurred to me in the attempt to unravel this little numismatic mystery; appealing, as I do, in a Horatian spirit, to the indulgent candour of many among the members of your learned body, whose superior competency for such a task will, I trust, be equalled by their readiness to impart correct information, on points whereon I am conscious of my own deficiencies; but at the same time no less freely inviting them to participate in the use of whatever suggestions of mine may be found at all entitled to their consideration.

We see on the obverse of this coin DNΩAV followed by a *dot*, then there is a space nearly filled up by the top of the diademed head; next appears another *dot*, or round point, close after which come the letters CRPPAVC (*see the accompanying plate*). The C, supposing it to have been meant for one, looks like a semi-oval lump, with an indent in its centre, so uncouthly is it formed. The mark *after* the first V, and that *before* the first C, are perfect *dots*, bold, clear, well-defined, and in high relief. Are they to be regarded as punctuations? I confess that I am not inclined to adopt such an opinion. If these dots were intended for divisional marks, why should not similar ones appear between DN, and between PP and AVG? or how does it happen that a point should, as in this case, be placed *before* a letter? But, in fact, how very seldom it is that, on the finest and largest medals, even of the earlier Cæsars, still less frequently, if ever, on imperial coins of the lower ages, one sees points employed between either words or initial letters. That such resemblances to stops, as those which are so conspicuous on the Bacton *Mauricius*, are to be set down as mere imperfections in the striking, is

a supposition to which their raised and decided appearance opposes itself as an objection scarcely to be surmounted. And far is it beyond the reach of my experience to account for these *phenomena*, unless *they* also may with propriety be numbered among the manifold, gross, and eccentric errors perpetrated by ancient die-sinkers, especially those who exercised their much-abused vocation under the Byzantine dynasties.

To shew the way in which this "blundering" propensity was suffered to run riot through the products of the later imperial mints, it may, from almost innumerable instances of a similar kind, be cited, that PPAVG is sometimes by transposition made PPVAG, at other times, by omission of a letter, it stands PPVG. So much for *titular* abbreviations; and as for the liberties taken with *names* of personages, we find that of this very same Mauricius, disguised under the following varieties, viz. MARICI—MARAI—MAKK, etc. (see Banduri.) Nor indeed must we wonder at anything that betrays either slovenly carelessness or barbarous ignorance in the mistakes of moneyers, during the wretchedly degenerate age to which reference is here made.

It has been suggested that the two *dots* in question are letters R and I, which failed in striking, and that, supplying those letters, the legend should be read DN ∞ ARIC PP AVC. But such a mode of interpretation I consider wholly untenable; in the first place, because it does not explain the CR, and, in the next place, because the minutest scrutiny results in proving that what appear as small *dots*, resembling stops, are too perfect, too fully brought out, to be regarded as anything else. On the other hand, I submit that no interpretation, capable of bearing the test of comparison with numismatic facts, can, on the hypothesis

of their being *initials*, be given to the letters CR,⁴ as they stand together on the obverse of the specimen before us.

Banduri, Eckhel, Mionnet, and Akerman furnish, in their respective lists of inscriptions, copied from the *aurei* of Mauricius, the following, among many other varieties, viz :—

DN M̄AV
M̄AVRIC TIBER PP AVC
M̄AVRI TIBER PP AVG

And Mr. Akerman's kindness enables me to add M̄AVRICI TB PPA, a curious form of the legend given by M. De Saulcy, from a gold coin of the same emperor, in the *Soleicol* cabinet.

⁴ That these letters, occurring, as they do in the present instance, on an imperial coin of the *sixth* century, are to be looked upon as initials, is a conjecture which will not, I apprehend, meet with any support from good authorities. CR is allowed to mean *Colonia Romana*. And Hardouin affirms the same collocation of those two letters to signify *Claritas Reipublicæ*. But there are no examples in which that legend is written otherwise than at full length, as is seen on coins of Constantius junior, and of Constans, and even on them, *not* as part of the inscription of the head, but (like *Salus Reipublicæ*, or *Spes Reipublicæ*, or *Securitas Reipublicæ*), as the exclusive legend of the reverse. Besides which, all allusion to the *Res Publica* on imperial coins, seems to have ceased after the reign of Romulus Augustus, A.D. 476. Then, as to whether the C before the R denotes *Cæsar*? I believe the letter C will not be found employed for any such designation, either by itself, or conjoined with any other initial, on medals of the imperial series *subsequent* to Jovian and Valentinian (A.D. 363 and 364). *Prior* to the reigns of the two last named emperors, the initials NC (*Nobilissimus Cæsar*) are of constant recurrence, as is well known, on coins of the western empire, and may be traced back as far as Numerianus (A.D. 282), perhaps further still. The C, however, in all such cases, is immediately preceded by N. But even if it be admitted, that *here* C means *Cæsar*, how is its next door neighbour, R, to be interpreted? To me, it appears evident that CR are *not initials*.

Here we have some remarkable examples of that intermixture of Greek with Roman alphabetical characters, in the same legend, which, about the end of the *sixth* century, began to be adopted on money of the Eastern empire, and which gradually resulted in the almost entire exclusion of *Latin* letters from the legends and inscriptions of coins struck under the Byzantine princes.

In the medal found at Bacton, not only have we to deal with those two little stumbling-blocks of *dots* already spoken of, but there is also a more material circumstance to encounter, viz., that the upper part of the head and diadem of the portrait occupies too much of the space between $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}$. and $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{R}$ to leave room enough for additional letters. Were it not for this two-fold impediment, and the last named in particular, a solution of the difficulty might not unsatisfactorily be found in the supposition, that the letter which precedes the R was meant for a Greek *epsilon*, instead of a Roman $\bar{\mathfrak{C}}$; and that, consequently, the reading should be thus:—

DN $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}$ [Tib]ER PP AVC

Dominus Noster Mauricius Tiberius Perpetuus Augustus.

There is, however, among the numerous *gold* coins of this emperor, described by Banduri (*Impp. Rom.* vol. ii. pp. 664 *et seq.*), one that agrees in both types, and (on the portrait side) *letter for letter*, with the obverse *legend* on the coin of the Bacton jewel, but in which, unlike that coin, there are no *dots* inserted. It is as follows:—

“*Obv.*—DN $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}$ CRPPAVC (*sic*). Caput Mauricii, cum coronâ ex margaritis, ad pectus cum paludamentum.

“*R.*—VICTORIA AVCCV (*sic*), circa coronam lauream, in cujus medio globus, supra quem crux: à dextris M, à sinistris A: in imâ parte CONOB.”

According to Eckhel's catalogue, the imperial cabinet at Vienna contains a *gold* Mauricius, bearing for legend of the head DN MAVRC TIB PPA. Here then we find the R placed *before* the C, a position which assimilates that part of the legend more closely with MAVRIC, and with MAVRICI, the most frequent modes of styling Mauricius on his coins. Now, being of opinion that the letters MAV; though on the Bacton medal widely apart from the letters CR, yet form *with them* only one abbreviated word, and also that the last two are transposed by a mistake of the *monetarius*, I come therefore to the conclusion, that the legend in question is, with the greater probability of correctness, to be read, notwithstanding the two dots—

DN MAV. .CR PP AVC⁵

Dominus Noster Mauricius Perpetuus Augustus.

And now, it is high time that I should leave, as best becomes me, the decision upon readings and interpretations, under present discussion, to those who are so much better qualified, in all respects, than myself, to distinguish and point out the true from the erroneous. I cannot, however, conclude a task, undertaken with diffidence and unsatisfactorily performed, without stating that the primary motive for the attempt was a desire to testify my appreci-

⁵ Frélich, in his 4th Tentamen, observes, "PPA vel PPAVC, Perpetuus Augustus, vel *Pius* Perpetuus Augustus, inferioribus seculis legenda esse, historicorum et veterum inscriptionum esse convenit." As *Perpetuus Augustus*, the interpretation is fully certified by a bronze medallion of Mauricius, inscribed DN MAVRICI PERP. AVG. The epithet *Perpetuus* seems to have been prefixed to the title of Augustus, for the *first* time, in the mint of Constans I. (A.D. 337), and successively appears on coins of Constantius II., Julian II., Jovian, Valens, Avitus, Zeno, Nepos, etc.

ative respect for a Society to which, from its first foundation, I have had the unmerited honour to belong. My next principal inducement has been, that I might establish for myself some ground of pretension for tendering, as I do with great pleasure, to the acceptance of the President and Council, Mr. Fairholt's plate (finely engraved after his own accurate design) representing one of the rarest and most valuable antiques, in its peculiar class, lately rescued from oblivion, under circumstances scarcely less extraordinary than fortunate, and now, through the medium of private liberality, placed in permanent safe-keeping, with facility of access, amongst the treasures of our greatest public museum. Truly glad shall I be, if "my weak words," on the descriptive points, may, by drawing attention to the ornamental features of so remarkable a curiosity, prove the means of eliciting from others of our Society (whom I could name as practically conversant with such interesting objects of archæological research) some illustrative remarks on the characteristics of Roman, and of Byzantine jewellery, in comparison with that of Saxon, or of Danish workmanship—those remarks having especial reference to the custom of encasing gold coins and medallions for purposes of personal adornment, and of honorary distinction.

I remain, with unfeigned esteem,

Gentlemen,

Most faithfully yours,

SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, F.S.A.

To the Secretaries of the Numismatic Society.

P.S.—I am informed, that the Numismatic authorities of the British Museum consider the little treasure-trove of ancient art, which forms the subject of the foregoing

observations, to be an Anglo-Saxon ornament, and the coin in its centre to be a *cast*, made from a gold coin of the Emperor Maurice.

Against any portion of the judgment thus pronounced, it would be presumptuous to set up my opinion. I noted on *some* parts of the coin a *roundness* of angle, in other words, a deficiency of sharpness in the *relievo* of the types, and in the edges of the letters. But this, as numismatists well know, is an appearance equally perceptible on not a few pieces of whose antiquity and genuineness no doubts are entertained; whilst there are *other* parts of the medal, which seemed to me as forcibly brought out as the process of *striking* could possibly have effected. My own suspicions, therefore, were unawakened. But if it be a *cast*, then my humble impression, influenced by authentic accounts of recent discoveries made both in this country, and in France,⁶ would lead me to look upon it, as one, for the guilt of forging which the monetal officers of some more or less distant successor of Mauricius Tiberius, most probably in some state emergency, made themselves answerable. At any rate, it is much too *good* a cast, I think, to have been produced from such a mould as any artificer of the northern nations, during the middle ages, possessed enough of the *falsarius's* cleverness to construct and apply to the coinage of money. Then, as to the setting of this medal, I see the form and pattern of its loop, together with its exhibition of the reverse, as well as the portrait side, so exactly like the small gold coins from Hadrian and the Antonines to Caracalla and Alexander Severus downwards to Valens, converted by their circular

⁶ See "Observations on Roman Coin Moulds" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. I. p. 147, *et seq.*, by the Rev. J. B. Reade, M.A.

frames of the same precious metal into a sort of medallion (specimens of which are engraved in the *Catalogue d'Ennery*, and in Steinbüchel's dissertation on the Hungarian *trouvailles*), and noting this, I am, with all deference, still disposed to regard the *aureus* in question as owing its encircling garniture to imperial Byzantine (or to Italian) taste and skill, such as it then was; in other words, to the men of the east, or of the west, rather than to the men of the north. And certainly, whether cast in a mould or struck from a die, the coin itself, with respect both to its types and legends, appeared to me of a very different and altogether superior style and fabric, to those *barbarous* imitations of the gold mintages of Greek emperors, which are ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons, and to the Danes.

XI.

UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

*Ninth Notice.**

By H. P. BORRELL, ESQ.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

CARIA.

ALABANDA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΑΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ. Tripod; the whole in a laurel wreath.

AR. 6. (*My possession.*)

* The publication of this notice has been delayed till now, on account of the first copy having miscarried on its way from Smyrna to England, a circumstance which the writer regrets, as some few of the coins have been published in the interval by others. The writer, moreover, has to regret the loss of several drawings of some of the most interesting coins, which accompanied the original paper, a loss which in some cases is irreparable.—Smyrna, Dec. 1846.

This is the only instance known of a deviation from the usual reverse of the Pegasus on the silver currency of Alabanda.

ALINDA.

No. 1.—Youthful head, laureate.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔΑ. Pegasus flying, to the right. Æ. 3.
(*Brit. Mus. from my col.*)

2.—Head of Hercules, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Quiver, the whole within a wreath of oak leaves. Æ. 3. (*Same col., from same.*)

3.—Same head.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Club. Æ. 1. (*My cabinet.*)

The Pegasus occurs on a unique coin in silver, in the cabinet of M. Grivaud de la Vincelle, cited by Mionnet,¹ but is new on the copper money. The other two are varieties; the last, only as regards its size.

Ada, queen of Caria, and widow of Hidrieus, whose dominions were usurped by Pixodarus, was residing at Alinda, when Alexander the Great was besieging Halicarnassus. She surrendered her rights to the conqueror, who, after the defeat of the Carian king, generously restored to her the government of the country.

AMYZA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΜΥΖΕΩΝ. Female head, surrounded with long tresses of hair, to the right. Æ. 4. (*Brit. Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Head of Diana, the quiver over her shoulder, to the right.

R.—ΑΜΥΖΩΝΕΩΝ. Torch. Æ. 3. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

¹ Supp. vi. p. 443, No. 44.

These, I believe, are the first coins that have yet been published of Amyza. Apollo and Diana are the deities represented upon them; but I am at a loss to determine to whom the female head on the reverse of No. 1, can be attributed. The flat nose, thick lips, and general form of the features, seem to indicate a negress. There is a remarkable variety in the orthography of the legends on the two coins. On the most ancient, No. 2, the name of the people is written AMYΞONEΩN, which agrees with the orthography used in an inscription found in the ruins of the city, copied by Mr. Hamilton;² on the other is AMYZEΩN; this, however, is not unfrequent on Greek coins: we find ATTAΔEΩN and ATTAΔEATΩN on coins of Attalia, in Pamphylia; and TOMITΩN and TOMITHNΩN on others of Tomi in Moesia.³

Ptolemy,⁴ Pliny,⁵ and Strabo,⁶ mention Amyza as an unimportant town of Caria. Col. Leake⁷ says, "it was situated on the East side of Mount Latmos," and remarks, that the ruins of the citadel and town walls still exist.

ANTIOCHIA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ANTIOXE. MEΛE. An ox lying down; beneath, are represented the windings of the Meander; the whole within a laurel wreath. AR. 4. grs. 60½.

(*Brit. Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head, to the left.

R.—ANTIOXEΩN. XPYΞOTONOY. Pegasus flying to the right. AR. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

² Leake's Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 238.

³ Cf. Le Bond, Observations sur quelques Médailles du Cabinet de Pellerin, p. 34.

⁴ Lib. v. cap. 2.

⁵ Lib. v. cap. 29.

⁶ Lib. xiv. p. 658.

⁷ Loc. cit. p. 237.

This Antiochia was named "*ad Mæandrum*," to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name, founded by the Syro-Macedonian kings. It owed its origin and its name to Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator. Some authors are of opinion, it pre-existed under the name of Pythopolis;⁸ but others assert it to have been a new city, peopled by the inhabitants of two older towns, Seminethos and Cranaos.⁹

Pellerin is of opinion,¹⁰ that the coins similar to my No. 2, were struck at Alabanda. Any one who compares them with those coins, in every respect the same as regards type and fabric, the only difference being the legend ΑΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ instead of ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, must admit Pellerin's hypothesis to be highly probable. I, for one, am disposed to believe he is correct; more particularly as we learn from Stephanus that the Alabandians did change the name of their city for a short time, and adopted that of Antiochia, doubtless in deference to the son of Seleucus, the same who founded Antiochia, as alluded to above. But a stronger proof of the identity of the coins reading indifferently *Antiochia* and *Alabanda*, is, that all the three, and the only three, magistrates' names that figure on the tetradrachms, assigned by Mionnet to Antiochia,¹¹ and in fact, reading *Antiochia*, are found also upon the coins of Alabanda: these three names are ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ, and ΜΕΝΕΥΘΕΥΣ.¹²

If, then, Pellerin's opinion should ultimately prevail, my coin No. 1 will become important, as it will remain the only silver coin which positively belongs to Antiochia *ad Mæandrum*.

⁸ Steph. Byz. *Αντιόχεια*. ⁹ Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 29.

¹⁰ Mélanges, tom. i. p. 139.

¹¹ Tom. iii. p. 313, Nos. 53, 54, and 55. ¹² Tom. iii. p. 305.

APOLLONIA.

No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. Youthful male head, to the right.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ. Bacchus standing, in his right hand a bunch of grapes, and in his left, the thyrsus.
Æ. 5. (*My cabinet.*)

It is not always easy to class, with any degree of certainty, coins bearing the name of Apollonia; the style of work of the above sufficiently declares its Carian origin.

BARGASA.

Combe, in his catalogue of the Hunterian Museum, ascribes a coin to this city as follows:

"No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC ::::::::::: Caput imberbe vitta redimitum ad d.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΥΡ. ΖΗΝΩΝΟC. ΒΑΡ. Jupiter stans ad s. d. aquilam s. hastem. Æ. 8½. *Tab. XII. fig. 29.*"

See also Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 333, No. 177. In his Supplement, tom. vi. p. 475, Mionnet withdraws it from Bargasa and places it to Maeonia in Lydia. He says in a note, "Nous avons rapporté d'après Combe une médaille de bronze de Musée de Hunter, dont la légende a été mal lue, l'attribution donnée à cette médaille est fautive: elle appartient à Maeonia de Lydie." He consequently places it to Maeonia in his tom. iv. p. 64, No. 329; and he reads the legend on the obverse ΔΗΜΟC ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ.¹³ Both versions, however, are incorrect: the coin belongs neither to Bargasa nor to Maeonia, but to Aezanis in Phrygia, as is proved by the following coin, which is now before me in the finest possible preservation.

¹³ Cf. Sestini, *Descriz.* p. 451.

No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. ΑΙΖΑΝΕΤΩΝ. Youthful head to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΥΡ. ΖΗΝΩΝΟC. B. ΑΡ. Jupiter standing as above.

It is evident Combe's coin was badly preserved, Mionnet's probably not much better; the former did not remark the separation between the letters B. ΑΡ. which he presumed referred to the name of Bargasa, instead of their real meaning of second Archon (*B. Αρχοντος*).

CALYNDA.

No. 1.—Head of Diana to the right, bow and quiver over her shoulder.

R.—ΚΑΛΥ. Stag, standing, to the right. Æ. 2. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—ΚΑΛΥΝ. Fore part of a stag to the right. Æ. 2. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

A single bronze coin is all that was previously known of this city, published by Sestini¹⁴ and Mionnet,¹⁵ from the collection of Mr. Elliot, which exhibits types entirely different from these two of mine.

Calynda must have been situated upon the borders of Caria and of Lycia, as some ancient authors assign its position in one, and some in the other of those provinces.¹⁶ The coins partake more of the Lycian than the Carian character, both as regards fabric and the religious emblems they bear. All the symbols on the two coins above cited

¹⁴ *Classes Gener. Edit. ii. p. 87.*

¹⁵ *Supp. tom. vi. p. 478, No. 204.*

¹⁶ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 651; Ptol. lib. v. cap. 3; Pliny, lib. v. cap. 27; Steph. Byz. *Κάλυνδα*.

refer to Diana: she and Apollo being the principal Lycian deities. Herodotus¹⁷ mentions a king of Calynda who was sunk in his galley by the celebrated Artemisia at the battle of Salamis.

CAUNUS

No. 1.—Bull, butting, to the right.

R.—KAY. Sphinx, sitting, to the right. Æ. 3. (*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

2.—Bull as last; above, a wreath.

R.—As last. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Fore part of a bull to the right.

R.—As last. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

Similar coins to the above were first published by M. Streber,¹⁸ who assigns them to an unedited numismatic city, Canæ in Æolia; but, upon both his specimens, the last letter was illegible, as he reads KA instead of KAY. There were several cities named Caunus; but I have attributed my coins to the one in Caria, as these and others have been procured of late years from that province, and from Lycia, through a Greek merchant captain, who constantly traded between the island of Rhodes and the main coast opposite.

Caunus was a dependency of Rhodes,¹⁹ and the birth-place of the celebrated painter Protogenus.

The learned numismatist, M. Streber, compared these coins with those of Gergitha, in Troas, on which is the Sphynx, but that fabulous animal is also frequently seen

¹⁷ Lib. viii. cap. 87.

¹⁸ Numismata nonnulla Græca, ex Mus. Reg. Bav. p. 200, tab. iii. figs. 6 et 7.

¹⁹ Pliny, lib. v. cap. 3.

on the money of Prenessus, in Caria, and of Perga, in Pamphylia.²⁰

ERIZA.

No. 1.—€P. Bipennis.

R.—Trident. Æ. 1½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet*).

Eriza was situated in Caria, on the river Chaos. It was taken by assault by Manlius during the war with the Gallo-Græci.²¹ Pellerin²² has published the only coin previously supposed to belong to this city; but his attribution is justly doubted by numismatists. Judging from his engraving the legend appears imperfect; his principal motive for classing it to Eriza was the word KAOC on the obverse, which he imagined referred to the name of the river Chaos.²³

My coin was brought from Nazlee, the ancient Nysa in Caria; the fabric is essentially Carian, as is the type of the Bipennis, which is a symbol of the worship of Jupiter Labrandæus, seen upon the majority of the money of this province.

EURALIUM.²⁴

Mionnet, in his Supp. vi. p. 489, No. 262, cites, for the first time, a unique coin of Euralium, and quotes M. de Cadalvene as the possessor. This is an error: it was, and

²⁰ See Sestini, Lett. Num. Cont. t. vii. p. 81, Nos. 1, 4; Mionnet, Supp. tom. vi. p. 534, Nos. 473, 474, in Prenessus; and Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 460, No. 75, in Perga.

²¹ Livius, lib. xxxviii. cap. 14.

²² Rec. tom. ii. page 123, tab. lxvi. fig. 27; Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 345, No. 248.

²³ Cf. Eckhel, D. N. V. tom. ii. p. 581.

²⁴ The same as the Euranium of Pliny.

still is, in the rich collection of M. Garreri, of Smyrna. I take this opportunity to say that Mionnet has given a wrong description of this rare coin: the figure on the reverse is not Hercules Bibax. As the coin is now before me, the following inscription may be depended upon:—

No. 1.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. Α. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. C. Laureated head of Caracalla, to the right, paludum.

R.—ΕΥΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ. Bacchus standing to the left, wearing the Pallium, the cantharus in his right hand, and the thyrsus in his left. Æ. 4.

EUROMUS.

No. 1.—Jupiter Labrandæus, standing front face; the Bipennis in his right hand, and the hasta in his left.

R.—ΕΥΡΩΜΕΩΝ. ΠΟΛΕ. Stag standing. Æ. 4.
(*My cabinet.*)

This is an unedited variety of a coin of Euromus, a Carian city of small importance.

EVIPPE.

No. 1.—Profile of Diana, to the right; bow and quiver over her shoulder, counter-marked with star.

R.—ΕΥΙΠΠΕΩΝ ΔΕCCT. Bowcase. Æ. 2. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—ΕΥΙΠΠΕΩ. Pegasus, flying to the right. Æ. 4.
(*Private collection.*)

The coins of this city are of excessive rarity: only two, and those imperial, are published; no autonomous coins were previously known. Another coin of this type is in the collection of Mr. Sams.

Evippe is denominated, by Stephanus, a village of Caria: it is the same as the Evhippe of Pliny.²⁵

²⁵ Lib. v. cap. 29.

HALICARNASSUS.

No. 1.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—An animal resembling a panther, sitting to the left, his right paw lifted up. AR. 5. grs. 143 $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—Two oblong indentures parallel to each other, separated by a broad bar. AR. 1. grs. 11. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

3.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙ. Fore part of a goat to the right, the whole within a sunk circle. AR. 1. grs. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

4.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ. ΜΟΞ. Head of Pallas helmeted, to the right. AR. 4. grs. 64 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Bank of England, and my cabinet.*)

5.—Another similar, but reading ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑ. ΜΟΧΧΟC, AR. 4. grs. 56 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

6.—Laureated head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΑΔΙ. Owl, his wings expanded; in the field, a flower; the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. grs. 53. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

7.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙΚ. ΑΡΜ. Owl, to the left. AR. 2. grs. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

8.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙ. Lyre between two laurel branches. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

9.—Radiated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑ. ΑΝΑ. Lyre; below, the letters ΜΕ. Æ. 4. (*My cabinet.*)

10.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΔΙΚ::: ΑΙΘΩΝ. Head of Pallas, to the right. Æ. 5. (*British Mus. from the same.*)

No. 11.—Bearded head of Jupiter, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ. Tripod. Æ. 3. (*Same cabinet from same.*)

12.—ΑΥ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Laureated head of Hadrianus, to the left.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Bust of Pallas, to the left. Æ. 5.
(*My cabinet.*)

13.—ΑΥ. ΚΑ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureated head of Antoninus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Male figure standing. Æ. 4.
(*My cabinet.*)

14.—ΦΑΥCΤΕΝΑ CΕΒΑC. Head of the younger Faustina, to the right.

R.—ΑΔΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Figure in a distyle temple. Æ. 4.
(*My cabinet.*)

From No. 4 downwards, these coins of Halicarnassus offer nothing worthy of special notice; they are merely varieties of the numerous series of coins already published of this celebrated city.

In order to justify the appropriation of the first two coins at the head of this list, to Halicarnassus, the No. 3, on which are inscribed the initial letters ΑΔΙ, must serve as the principal key. The style of fabric, and execution of the Pegasus, on all the three coins, is remarkable, and is almost sufficient to show the identity of their origin.

I have frequently had occasion to remark, in the course of these notices, that, to an experienced numismatist, the province where certain primitive coins were struck, may often be decided by the particular form of the indented square. The Macedonian, the Ionian, etc., etc., are easily distinguishable from each other. The form of the indentures on my coin No. 2, is peculiar on coins of Dorian origin. Similar parallel indentures are observed on the most ancient money of Camira and Cnidus, as well as on

a unique coin, I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, of Lindus. Now Halicarnassus was one of the cities of Dorian Hexapolis; and admitting, on account of the form of the indenture, the Dorian origin of the coin in question, it cannot be placed with propriety to any other place than to Halicarnassus.

HARPASA.

No 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. ΑΡΗΑΧΝΩΝ. Youthful head of the people, to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΚΑΝΑΙΔΙΟΥ. ΚΕΛΑΟΥ. Minerva standing, a javelin in her right hand, and a shield in her left. *Æ. 6. (British Mus. from my cabinet.)*

2.—ΑΥ. ΚΑ. ΝΕΡ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Trajan to the right

R.—ΑΡΗΑΧΝΩΝ. River god, recumbent. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

I presume the coin No. 1, was struck during the sway of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as the same magistrate's name, *Candidus Celsus*, occurs on one of his coins in Mionnet.²⁶

The river god on the reverse of No. 2, is the Harpasus, a tributary of the Mæander, near to which Harpasa was situated.

HYLLARIMA.

No. 1.—ΕΠΙ. ΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟC. Female head, to the right.

R.—ΥΔΑΑΡΙΜΕΟΝ. Pallas standing, a branch of olive in her right hand, and spear and shield in her left. *Æ. 4. (British Mus., from my cabinet.)*

I considered this coin to have been unique, till I saw a second, a very imperfect specimen, amongst the unclassified

²⁶ Suppt. tom. vi. p. 502, No. 329.

coins of Mr. Millingen, when I was in Paris, in 1831, which could not have been decyphered very easily without the assistance of my coin. Mr. Millingen has since published his coin; but in consequence of its bad state of preservation, he has given an incorrect engraving and description of it: his version is as follows:—

ΕΠΙ. ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. Female head, to the right.

R.—ΥΑΑΑΡΙΜΕΝΕΩΝ. Minerva, holding in one hand a spear and shield, and with the other a bunch of grapes.
Æ. 3. (Millingen, *Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins of Greek Kings and Cities*, London, 1837, p. 74, pl. iv. 49.)

As my coin is in perfect condition, it is certain that the name of the city was Hyllarima, and not as Millingen has designated it "Hyllarimene": the former is more in accordance with the orthography of ancient writers who mention it.

The figure on the reverse, is Minerva Pacifera, or the *peace-bearer*; she has the instruments of war in one hand, and the olive branch, symbolic of peace, in the other. The last attribute was given to Minerva by the intellectual and inventive Greeks, indicating that peace and happiness are always the result of successful war, when the arts may be cultivated without interruption. For this reason, it is said, Minerva first planted the olive, a symbol of peace, which entitled her to the honor of giving her name to the city of Cecrops, in preference to Neptune.

IASUS.

No. 1.—Profile of Apollo, laureated, to the right.

R.—ΙΑ. ΜΕΝΕΣΟΙ.... Naked youth upon a dolphin.
AR. 4. grs. 77½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

No. 2.—Same head.

R.—IA. AAMHITOΣ. Same type. AR. 4. grs. 82.
(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

3.—Lyre, within a wreath of laurel.

R.—IACΩN. Youth upon a dolphin; below, an indistinct magistrate's name. Æ. 3. (*British Museum, from same.*)

Thucydides²⁷ speaks of Iasus, as a place which had enjoyed considerable opulence, before it was pillaged by the soldiers of the Peloponnesus. Its situation is marked by Polybius,²⁸ as being on the Carian coast, on a gulf terminating on one side by the temple of Neptune, in the territory of Miletus; and on the other, by the city of Myndus. Ancient authors are disagreed, whether Iasus was situated on an island, or on the Carian continent; Pliny,²⁹ Ptolemy,³⁰ and others, give it the latter; Strabo³¹ and Stephanus,³² the former position.

The silver coins of Iasus were known neither to Eckhel, Pellerin, nor Mionnet: the only one published, hitherto, is to be found in Sestini,³³ from the royal collection at Munich. The types on Sestini's coin are similar to those on mine: it only differs by the absence of a magistrate's name, and the name of the city being inscribed at full length.

The type on the reverse of the major part of the autonomous coins of this city, confirm what is related by Pollux³⁴ and Aelian,³⁵ that the Iasians stamped on their money, a youth on a dolphin. The origin of this device is variously stated by ancient writers; but Pliny's account is

²⁷ Lib. viii. cap. 28.

²⁹ Lib. v. cap. 29.

³¹ Lib. xiv. p. 658.

³³ Lett. e Diss. Num. tom. v. p. 45.

³⁴ Onomast. lib. ix. cap. 6.

²⁸ Lib. xvi.

³⁰ Lib. v. cap. 2.

³² Steph. Byz. v. Ἰασσός.

³⁵ Nat. Anim. lib. vi. cap. 15.

the most plausible: he says, "A dolphin by degrees had become familiarly attached to a youth of Iasus, so as to allow him to mount on his back in the sea. One day, observing his friend quit the coast, the dolphin in his eagerness to follow him, leaped from the sea on to the beach, and died from his inability to return to his element." Pliny adds, "that the youth was afterwards appointed priest of the temple of Neptune, at Babylon, by Alexander the Great, who fancied the attachment of the dolphin denoted his being a favourite of that deity."

IDYMA.

No. 1.—Uncertain head, front face.

R.—::ΔΥΜΙΟΝ. A fig leaf, the whole in a sunk square.

AR. 3. grs. 54½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Another rather different. AR. 3. grs. 52. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

3.—Another. AR. 3. grs. 57½. (*My collection.*)

There can be no hesitation required for assigning these coins to the town in Caria noticed by Stephanus as being situated on the river Idymus—"Idyma urbs Cariæ, cujus et Idymus fluvius,"—of which no coins have yet been published.³⁶

It is difficult to determine what deity is represented on the obverse side of all these coins. None are sufficiently distinct. The reverse exhibits a fig-leaf precisely similar to that seen on the coins of Camirus, in Rhodes, which would lead to the supposition of some connexion between the two places, of which no mention has reached us. At all events,

³⁶ Another coin of this type, with the legend imperfect, is attributed, by Payne Knight, to Camirus. Num. Vet. p. 114. B. i. —*Ed. Num. Chron.*

it may prove, that Idyma was situated opposite the island of Rhodes. On the first two coins in the above list, the legends are not perfectly clear; but upon the third, now before me, every letter is satisfactorily distinct.

MYNDUS.

No. 1.—Head of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy, to the right.

R.—MYNΔΙΩΝ. ΜΗΝΟΔΟ. Thunderbolt. AR. 3. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—The same with ΜΥΝΔΙΩΝ. ΣΙΜΜΑΧ. AR. 3. 29 grs.
(*My cabinet.*)

3.—Same head.

R.—ΜΥΝΔΙΩΝ. ΕΥ. . . . Bunch of grapes. AR. 2. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
(*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

Myndus was a small town with disproportionably large gates. Diogenes, the cynic, being there, advised the inhabitants to keep them closed, for fear the town should escape.³⁷

The autonomous coins of Myndus in silver are rare. The types on the three described above are new.

PALEOPOLIS.

No. 1.—. CEIΛ' CEOYHPOC . . . Laureated head of Septimius Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Jupiter seated, the hasta in his left hand; behind the seat, an eagle. Æ. 6. (*Cabinet de M. Fontana, at Trieste.*)

Here is another city of which, I believe, no other numismatic remains have reached us. I was allowed to take a note and an impression from this coin by its then proprietor, the Chevalier Fontana, at Trieste, in 1832, not long previous to the demise of that distinguished numismatist. It has remained unedited to this day.

³⁷ Diog. Laert. lib. vi. chap. 2.

Paleopolis is designated as an inferior bishopric, under the metropolitan of Ephesus, in the *Notitiæ Episcopatum Græcorum*; but, although its position is not laid down, I conceive I cannot be far wrong in placing it in the province of Caria.

PRENASSUS VEL PRINASSUS.

The coin formerly attributed by Mionnet,³⁸ after Cousinéry, to Perga, and restored by Sestini³⁹ to Prenassus, or Prinassus, in Caria, is the same as that given by Wiczay to Anaphlystus, in Attica. Although these coins read ΜΑΝΑΨΑ. ΠΡΕΝΑ. or ΠΡΕΝΑΣ, yet I cannot approve of their appropriation to Prenassus, as they are brought constantly and in abundance from the province of Pisidia, with coins of Sagalassus, Perga, and Selge. I am of opinion, it will be discovered they are more nearly connected with Perga than we at present suppose.

PYRNUΣ.

I have good reason also for believing that the attribution of the coins in Mionnet⁴⁰ and Pellerin,⁴¹ reading ΠΥΡ. and ΠΥΡΝΗΩΝ., to Pyrnus, in Caria, is erroneous. Mionnet justly remarks that the initial letter is not a Π but a Γ. I have had a number of these coins, on all of which I read ΓΥΡ, and on a single specimen ΓΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, but never observed any with ΓΥΡΝΕΩΝ. Besides, all those which have

³⁸ Supp. vi. p. 534, No. 473, and Supp. vii. p. 44, No. 76.

³⁹ Lett. Num. Contin. tom. vii. p. 81.

⁴⁰ Tom. iii. p. 375-6, Nos. 424, 425.

⁴¹ Recueil de Méd. de Peup. et de Villes, tom. ii. p. 130, tab. lxvii. fig. 50.

come under my notice were invariably procured in company with coins of Pitane and Pergamus, in Mysia, Cyme, and Myrina, in Aeolia. In these districts I can, however, find no mention of a town of Gyrnus. If it were permitted to transpose a single letter of this legend, and read ΓΡΥΝΑΙΩΝ instead of ΓΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, we should have the name of Gryneum, a town of some note in the Troad, remarkable for a temple of Apollo, surnamed Grynæus. But although the position of Gryneum answers perfectly well as regards the localities where these coins are found; and, moreover, the head of Apollo on them is found of similar work and design upon coins of other cities in the same province, and more particularly on the coins of Gergitha;⁴² yet I am fearful such a liberty would not be admissible: I must, therefore, rest contented in having recorded my doubt as to their attribution to Pyrus, and leave to further discoveries their more appropriate and positive classification.

TABA.

No. 1.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. APTMΩN. Victory, to the right, a laurel crown in one hand and a palm branch in the other; in the field, ΠΑ. AR. 3. 26 grs. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—TABHNΩN. BPAXYAAAYAAΣ. Victory, as the preceding; in the field, ΚΑΑ. AR. 3. 26½ grs. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

⁴² Compare the head of Apollo, as engraved in Pellerin, with the head in Dumersan's *Description des Méd. Ant. du Cab. de M. Allier de Hauteroche*, pl. xii. fig. 10; also a coin of Alexandria in Troas, in Pellerin, loc. cit. p. 61, tab. liv., No. 14.

No. 3.—Same head.

R.—TAPHNΩN. CEΛEYKOC. Bacchus standing, to the left, leaning against a Cippus, the cantharus in one hand and the thyrsus in the other; in the field, BPA.
AR. 3. 20 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

The letters ΠΑ, in the field of the first coin, allude probably to the name of ΠΑΠΙΟΥ, which occurs on another coin connected with ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ;⁴³ as do the letters BPA on No. 3, for ΒΡΑΧΥΛΑΥΔΟΥ, to *Seleucus, the son of Brachylidas*, as is seen on a coin published by Haym,⁴⁴ formerly in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection, now in the British Museum.

TRAPEZOPOLIS.

No. 1.—ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureated head of Augustus, in front lituus.

R.—ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Naked figure of Apollo, standing, a laurel branch in his left hand; in front Α, behind ΝΡ. Æ. 4. (*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

2.—ΟΥΕΣΗΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureated head of Vespasianus, to the right.

R.—::: OPONTHΣ. ΤΡΑΠΕ. Cybele, standing, front face, each hand on the head of a lion, sitting on either side of her. Æ. 5. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ. ΔΟΜΝΑ. CΕΒΑCT. Head of Julia Domna, to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΡ. Τ. ΑΔΡΑCTΟΥ. ΚΕΖΕ. ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΤ::: Cybele sitting, the hasta in her left hand, a lion at her feet; in the exergue, ΘΕΟΑ (retrograde). Æ. 8.
(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

The types on the reverses of these three coins of the Carian Trapezopolis exhibit unedited varieties. Of Vespasian none have been previously noted.

⁴³ See Mionnet, Supp. tom. vi. p. 543, No. 508.

⁴⁴ Tom. ii. p. 189, and Mionnet, loc. cit. No. 509.

TRIPOLIS.

No. 1.—ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ. CEBACTH. Head of the younger Faustina, to the right.

R.—ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ. The Mæander recumbent. Æ. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

Faustina is a new head on the coins of Tripolis. The Mæander, on the borders of which the city was situated, occurs on the reverses of many of its coins, both autonomous and imperial.

KING OF CARIA.

PIXODARUS.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo with long flowing hair, to the right.

R.—ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟ. Jupiter Labrandæus, standing, clad with the *pallium*, the *Bipennis* in his right hand, and the *hasta* in his left. AV. 3. 64 $\frac{1}{10}$ grs. (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

No gold coins of any of the sovereigns of Caria preceding Pixodarus, have yet been discovered. Of this last king, one was first published by Pellerin;⁴⁵ but it appears to be the hemidrachm, while this of mine, by its weight, corresponds to the drachma. The beautiful execution of this unique coin merits the highest praise, and, as its preservation is equally perfect, renders it one of the most interesting objects of art amongst the regal Greek series.

The silver coins of the Carian kings, excepting only

⁴⁵ Supp. tom. iv. p. 113.

those of Hecatomnus, exhibit on the obverse side the head of Apollo, front face, whilst Pellerin's and my gold coin offer the same head in profile. On the reverse, Jupiter Labrandæus is the only type, repeated on the whole series without exception. A celebrated temple, with a statue of Jupiter Labrandæus, existed at a place called Labranda, near Mylassa, and his worship was disseminated throughout the province. For an account of the origin of the worship of this Jupiter, cf. Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.*; Aelian, *de Natur. Animal.* lib. xii. cap. 30; Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. in *Λάβρανδα*; Spanheim, *Diss.* vii. p. 517.

At the demise of Idrieus, Pixodarus usurped the Carian throne, to the prejudice of Ada, the widow of the deceased king. He maintained his power till the arrival of Alexander the Great in Caria. Ada succeeded in obtaining the sympathy of the young conqueror; and when Halicarnassus was taken she was restored to her rights. Pixodarus is supposed to have died about the 418th year of Rome, or B.C. 336 years.

ASTYPALÆA, INSULA.

No. 1.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. *Harpa.* Æ. 2. 1 gr.

2.—Head of Perseus, with winged helmet, to the right.

R.—ΑΣ. *Harpa.* Æ. 2.

3.—The same, but with ΑΣΤΥΠΑ. Æ. 2.

4.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΑΣΤ. Prow of a galley. Æ. 2.

The beauty and fertility of Astypalæa obtained for it the epithet of *θέων τράπεζα*, *the table of the gods*.⁴⁶ It was

⁴⁶ Steph. Byz. in *Ἀστυπάλαια*.

situated in the Carian sea, between Rhodes and Crete. It derived its name from the mother of Ancæus, and was colonised by one of the earliest emigrations from Megara.⁴⁷

Autonomous coins of Astypalæa were unknown to numismatists till M. de Cadalvene took a few to Paris, on his return from the Levant, and ceded them to the National Museum;⁴⁸ compared with these my four coins offer trifling varieties.

I have ascertained, beyond doubt, that all these coins were found in the island of Astypalæa. This is important as there was another city of Astypalæa in the island of Cos. For although Diodorus informs us that this last was destroyed by an earthquake, and the inhabitants removed to Cos, yet it does not appear to have been entirely abandoned; for we find in Arrian the name of one of Alexander's naval commanders, Onesicritus of Astypalæa, in the island of Cos, who held joint command in the famous expedition of Nearchus.

The numismatist will observe the great analogy between the symbols on these coins of Astypalæa, and those of Seriphus and Gyarus alluded to in these notices; but I have nothing to offer in explanation.

CALYMNA, INSULA.

No. 1.—Youthful male head, helmeted, to the right.

R.—KAAY. Lyre. AR. 2. 23 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

This coin differs from others already published by its size and weight, which indicates it to be the quarter part of the larger coin.

⁴⁷ Scymnus, v. 549, 550.

⁴⁸ See Mionnet, Supp. vi. p. 563. I am inclined to believe that Mionnet's No. 4 is rather of Astyra in Rhodes.

A very few years ago, the coins of Calymna were unknown. No numismatic writer had mentioned them previous to the publication of Mionnet's valuable catalogue, in which one, then considered unique, is cited from the French national collection. Since then, and during my sojourn in the Levant, they have become much more common, owing to the discovery of an immense deposit of coins, in 1823,⁴⁹ amongst which were a large number of this island. A short history of this discovery may interest the reader; I shall, therefore, offer no apology for introducing it here. The treasure was discovered by a peasant, whilst deepening a long neglected well in his garden; and it is said that the number of coins, all silver, which he disinterred, amounted to nearly ten thousand. Besides the coins of Calymna, all of which, with few exceptions, were of the larger size,⁵⁰ there were several thousand Darics of the usual common description, with a few of the larger and rarer kinds, representing the kneeling archer on one side, and the horseman on the other.⁵¹ Of Rhodes and Cos, there were numerous specimens of various sizes, but mostly drachms and didrachms; many drachms, and one only a tetradrachm of Cnidus; lastly, there was an ample quantity of coins of Mausolus, Idrieus, and Pixodarus, kings of Caria, all small excepting a few tetradrachms of Mausolus.⁵²

⁴⁹ When I wrote my catalogue, which is now in the Bank of England, I was not aware of the extent of the find; I had my information some years subsequently, from a Greek priest, a native of the island.

⁵⁰ Weighing about 101 grains: two smaller, in my collection, weigh 49 and 47 grains.

⁵¹ As Mionnet, v. p. 644, No. 26.

⁵² It is remarkable, though unaccountable, that all the small coins of Mausolus were in bad condition, and much worn; the tetradrachms on the contrary were perfectly preserved.

As regards numbers, this deposit may be considered one of the richest upon record; but, unfortunately, nearly nine-tenths of the whole were 'consigned to the crucible, not from ignorance, but on account of their degraded preservation. They were useless for any scientific purpose.

It is, perhaps, difficult to explain satisfactorily how, or at what precise period of time, this rich treasure came to be deposited in an island of so little importance as Calymna; but as there were no coins of Alexander the Great intermingled amongst them, and the latest coins were those of Pixodarus, who ruled over Caria when Alexander passed into Asia, it is probable they were thrown in the place where they were found during some emergency; and this emergency may have occurred, just at that particular moment when Calymna was reduced as a Carian dependency, when Pixodarus was dethroned, and queen Ada restored to the government. The various coins of which this treasure was composed, in that case, represented the currency of the island, and probably of the surrounding countries at that time. Had they been deposited even a year later, it is more than probable that a few coins of Alexander would have been found with them; as it is well known, that the money of the Macedonian conqueror formed the principal currency of Asia Minor, during the subsequent century.

ASTYRA, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Large vase.

R.—ASTY. Vase of an elegant shape, with a single handle; in the field, a lyre, of archaic form; the whole in a sunk square. AR. $4\frac{1}{2}$. 149 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (*Bank of England, from my Cabinet.*)

No. 2.—Single handled vase.

R.—Single handled vase of another form, in an indented square. AR. 1. $12\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (*British Museum.*)

3.—Vase as last, in the field A.

R.—Vase, as on the reverse of the preceding. AR. 1. 17 grs. (*British Museum.*)

4.—Vase, as on the reverse of last.

R.—Indented square. AR. $\frac{3}{4}$. 10 grs. (*British Museum.*)

5.—Vase, as on obverse of No. 3.

R.—Three indented squares within each other. AR. $\frac{3}{4}$. $7\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (*British Museum.*)

6.—A flower.

R.—A. in an indented square. AR. $\frac{1}{2}$. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (*British Museum.*)

7.—Vase, as No. 2.

R.—An uncertain symbol in an indented square. AR. $1\frac{1}{2}$. $14\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (*British Museum.*)

8.—Head of Venus, to the right.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. Diota. Æ. 2. (*British Museum.*)

9.—Another, devices similar to the last, but without legend. Æ. 1. (*British Museum.*)

10.—Another, similar, but with ΑΣ on reverse. Æ. 1. (*British Museum.*)

11.—Head as the preceding.

R.—ΑΣ. Diota; in the field, a smaller vase. Æ. $1\frac{1}{2}$. (*British Museum.*)

12.—Head as last.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. A flower in a Diota. Æ. 2. (*British Museum.*)

13.—Head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΑΣΤΥΡΑ. Diota; above, an ivy leaf; in the field, a small vase. Æ. 3. (*Bank of England.*)

Geographers refer to three towns called Astyra, in Mysia, in the Troad, and in the island of Rhodes. It is to the

last (the Rhodian Astyra), that Pellerin⁵³ assigns a copper coin similar to my No. 13, the full-face head of Apollo, in his opinion, assimilating it with the coins of the city of Rhodes. To this single coin, Sestini⁵⁴ adds another, offering other symbols, which is all we knew of Astyra, till very lately.⁵⁵

It has been my good fortune, not only to enrich the series with a considerable number of monuments, both in silver and copper, but, by ascertaining beyond all doubt that they were discovered at the same time at Rhodes, to establish what was previously disputed, that they are correctly classed as they now stand.

Many of the earlier coins amongst the silver in this series are without legend; but they are so exactly identified with those which bear the initials of the name of the city, that they singularly illustrate each other. These coins, the silver in particular, I believe to be mostly unique, the No. 1 on account of its size, as well as its serving as a key to the rest, is highly interesting.

The Rhodian Astyra is only mentioned by Stephanus, who says it was of Phœnician origin: this accounts for the appearance of the portrait of Venus on Nos. 8 to 12, as it is well known the worship of this goddess was introduced by the Phœnicians in most of their settlements.⁵⁶

⁵³ Rec. iii. p. 93.

⁵⁴ Descr. dell Med. Gr. del Mus. Heder. tom. ii. p. 247, and Mionnet, Supp. vi. p. 608, No. 333.

⁵⁵ Sestini, in his Descr. di altri Med. Gr. del Mus. Font. pars iii. p. 66. tab. vi. fig. 3., gives a silver coin to Astyra; but it belongs to Samos. See also Mionnet, loc. cit. No. 332.

⁵⁶ There is a striking resemblance of the head of Venus on these coins, compared with her head on the small copper money of Nisyros.

CAMIRUS, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—A large fig leaf.

R.—Indented oblong square, divided in the middle by a broad bar. AR. $4\frac{1}{2}$. 182 grs. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—The same. AR. 1. $9\frac{1}{10}$ grs. (*My collection.*)

3.—A large fig leaf.

R.—KA. in an indented square, divided into two equal parts. AR. $1\frac{1}{2}$. $18\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (*Bank of England, from my collection.*)

4.—Balaustium.

R.—KA. and a griffin's head; the whole in a deep indented square. AR. $1\frac{1}{2}$. $14\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (*My collection.*)

The inhabitants of the Dorian cities, Camirus, Lindus, and Ialysus, united at an early period, and founded the city of Rhodes.⁵⁷ Camirus was of remote origin, it is mentioned by Homer,⁵⁸ who calls it the “*ἀργυρόεις*” or white, and it belonged to the confederation denominated the Dorian Hexapolis.⁵⁹

Sestini was enabled to assign the coins bearing the type of a fig leaf to Camirus, from a coin then in the collection of Mr. Payne Knight, now in the British Museum, on which the name of the city KAMIPEΩN, is inscribed in full length within the indented square of the reverse.⁶⁰ The smaller coins in this last, are unedited. The No. 5 is remarkable; it exhibits on the obverse side, instead of the usual fig leaf, a *balaustium*, which became ultimately

⁵⁷ Pliny, lib. viii. cap. 31.

⁵⁸ Iliad, lib. ii. v. 656.

⁵⁹ Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 144.

⁶⁰ Sestini, Lett. vii. p. 82, pl. ii. fig. 26 and 27.

the adopted universal device of the money of the city of Rhodes.⁶¹

IALYSUS, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Winged wild boar flying, to the left.

R.—ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ. Eagle's head, and a symbol resembling a heart, in a beaded border; the whole within a flat sunk square. AR. 6. 215½ grs.⁶²

A coin similar in its principal features, is published amongst the "*incerti*" of the Hunterian Museum.⁶³ Sestini, deceived by the type of the winged boar, assigns it without hesitation to Clazomenæ, in Ionia,⁶⁴ and he presumes the legend refers merely to the name of a magistrate, which he reads ΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ. Mionnet,⁶⁵ although he follows Combe in placing it amongst his *incerti*, remarks, in a note, that, judging from its fabric and types, he was of opinion it might have been struck in Pamphylia, or in one of the adjacent provinces. The discovery of my coin, which is fortunately in the most perfect and satisfactory condition, establishes the true reading of the legend to be ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ. "Money of the Ialysians." It proves that Dr. Hunter's coin was an imperfect specimen, the initial letter being wanting, not from detrition, but in consequence of the insufficient area of the metal compared with the size of the die, and the defective manner of its being struck.

⁶¹ A similar coin to No. 4, I ceded to Mr. Stewart, in the catalogue of some of his coins sold at auction; this coin is ascribed to Carausia, a city of Rhodes, of which I find no mention.

⁶² I ceded this coin to Mr. Stewart; I believe it is actually in the collection of the Duke de Luynes.

⁶³ Combe, Mus. Hunt. tab. 66, fig. 18.

⁶⁴ Descriz. degli Stat. Ant. p. 80, tab. viii. fig. 12.

⁶⁵ Tom. vi. p. 632, No. 138.

Ialysus was an ancient city of the island of Rhodes, founded at the same time as Camirus and Lyndus, by a Dorian colony; its existence anterior to the siege of Troy is testified by Homer,⁶⁵ who mentions it in his catalogue of those cities which sent succours to Agamemnon. It was abandoned by its inhabitants, when, with others, they founded the city of Rhodes, in the first year of the ninety-third Olympiad, B.C. 408.⁶⁶

LYNDUS⁶⁷, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Head of a lion, the mouth wide open, to the right.

R.—Two oblong parallel indentures divided by a broad bar; in each of the indentures are several rude marks in relief; on the bar is inscribed ΛΥΝΔ. AR. 6.

This is the only coin of Lyndus yet brought to light; it was procured at Rhodes, in 1841, and now embellishes a celebrated cabinet in Paris. Its fabric assimilates it with the coins of Camirus, and with one I have placed to Halicarnassus, the oblong indentures on the reverse having the same form and character, which, I have before remarked, appears to be peculiar to the money of cities of Dorian origin. But, although my coin with the legend ΛΥΝΔ may be unique, it is, nevertheless, very possible that some of those coins without inscriptions which numismatists, in the absence of a point of comparison, have been unable to classify, may be claimed by Lyndus. Amongst those in this particular category, is one engraved in Mionnet's volume of plates,⁶⁸ the reader referring to it will observe the same fabric of the coin itself, as well as the style of execution of the lion's

⁶⁵ Iliad, lib. ii. v. 163.

⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 600.

⁶⁷ Usually written *Lindus* in the texts of ancient authors, but the reading of the coin here published seems to call in question the correctness of such a mode of spelling.

⁶⁸ Plate xxxvi. No. 5.

head; and, moreover, he will remark the same Dorian oblong parallel indentures, as also the same inexplicable ornaments, if ornaments they are, as are seen on our coin of Lyndus. I would, further, give a Rhodian origin to two coins published by Millingen,⁶⁹ which he denominates "*Incerti Asiæ Minoris*;" but these, perhaps, by their devices, may be better suited to Ialysus.

The lion's head is a symbol of very frequent occurrence upon ancient coins; but the head on the Lyndian money, differs essentially from that depicted on the coins of Cnidus, and both these again from those of Cyzicus.

XII.

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS OF HINDÚSTÁN (DĒLHÍ).

(Continued from page 120.)

"IN the third year of Alá ud din, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the formation of a new system of religion, that, like Mohammed, he might be held in veneration by posterity. His other design was equally romantic. He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and, like the great Alexander, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this project, he assumed the title of سکندر الثاني *Sekunder al Sání*, Alexander the Second, which was struck upon the currency of the empire."⁹ Fortunately for

⁶⁹ Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings, p. 73, plate Nos. 14 and 15. [Both these unique coins are now in the British Museum. No. 14 is attributed by Payne Knight to Clazomene, Num. Vet. p. 117. D. 1.—*Ed. Num. Chron.*]

⁹ Dow's *Ferishtah*, vol. i., page 234.





the sultan, these crude schemes were submitted for approval to one of his subjects, who was bold enough to point out their absurdity even in the presence of the despot who had originated them. Thus the monarch's eccentricities resulted in no worse consequences than the assumption of certain ridiculous titles still to be seen on his coinage;¹⁰ indeed, the opportune truths told on this occasion, as to what he had yet to accomplish in the immediate circle of his own dominions, led to the confirmation and extension of his already immense power.

A conspiracy, attended by an attempt at assassination, from which the sultan escaped almost by a miracle, was followed by an insurrection as singular in many of its circumstances. During his absence from his capital, a revolution was accomplished, which actually placed a new sovereign on the throne. A seven days' reign was, however, all that was accorded to the new monarch, and his life and the lives of not a few who had aided his temporary elevation, paid the penalty of their rashness.

Again, a third time, an inroad of the Moghuls threatened the most serious results. The sultan, unable to meet his adversaries in the open field, allowed himself to be besieged in his own capital; once more, however, fortune favoured him, and the Moghuls returned as they came.

Towards the latter part of this reign, the conquests of the eunuch Káfur, who commanded the army of the Dukhun, enabled him to bring to Delhí the plunder acquired during his various expeditions, to the almost unheard-of extent of 96,000 maunds of gold alone, independent of spoil of other descriptions to a proportionate amount.

Of Alá ud din's riches, generally, it is related that his

¹⁰ Vide Nos. 57 and 58.

wealth surpassed the accumulations of the ten campaigns of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The closing scene of this monarch's life was now approaching, and his last moments of pain and debasement were rendered utterly unendurable to his proud spirit by the repeated reports of insurrections which began to rise up on all sides. The 16th of Shaval, 716 A.H., witnessed the last moments of this mighty king.

It is remarkable, that the existing money of this prince should so directly bear out the relation of historians as to his enormous wealth. Both his silver and gold coins are found to this day in the greatest abundance; but the amount of his gold coinage which is extant, is peculiarly noticeable as regarding its relative proportion to the same species of money of his predecessors, whose gold coins are so rare as to be, with one exception, almost unknown.

c.—Gold. 170 grs. C.

Type and legend identical with No. 57 silver coin, with the exception of the word *السكه* taking the place of *الفضة*

57.—Silver. 170 grs. C.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه—
السلطان The most mighty sovereign, Alá ud dunia wa ud
din, Abúl Muzafar, Mohammed Sháh, the Sultan.

R.—Area سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين
Sekunder the second, right hand of the khalifat, supporter
of the commander of the faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة اثني عشر—
وسبعماية This silver (was) struck at the capital, Delhí,
in the year 712.

58.—Copper and Silver.

Obv.—علا الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثاني—

R.—Horseman, similar to No. 32.

59.—Silver and Copper. 55 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

R.—۷۰۲ ابو المعظم محمد شاه السلطان Date 702.

60.—Copper. 55 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

R.—Area محمد شاه

Marg. श्री सलतां अलावदी ७१० Date 710.

The coins, Nos. 59 and 60, are remarkable as offering the first instance in the present series of the general use of numerals in recording dates; it having been hitherto the custom to write the numbers in the full length of their respective Arabic denominations.

61.—Copper. 67 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم

R.—علا الدنيا والدين

62.—Copper. 23 grs.

Obv.—عدل محمد شاه

R.—حضرت دهلي

In concluding this reference to the coins of Alá ud din, it may not be inappropriate to append the following note from Ferishtah, on the currency of this particular period.

* "In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state that a funka was equal to a tola in weight (180 grs.), whether of gold or silver; and a tunka of silver was equal to 50 jetuls. The jetul was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known: some conceive it was a tola, while others are of opinion that the jetul, like the pice of the present day, weighed $\frac{3}{4}$ tola. The maund of the time of Jellál ud din (Fírúz) weighed 40 seers, and each seer weighed 24 tolas."—*Ferishtah*. See Briggs, vol. i., page 361.

The following coin, in its date and near approximation in type to those of the Delhí series, claims notice in this place. Owing, however, to the absence of distinct historical information regarding any individual, who, about this period, obtained the title of Shums ud din Fírúz, as well as from the erasure of the place of mintage of the coin itself, no satisfactory attribution can well be attempted; at the same time, it may be suggested as possibly the production of the temporary king of the city of Delhí, who for seven days occupied the throne of his master, whose name was Alawi, or Sháh Nunní, but whose regal titles are unknown; or, it may belong to a Bengal mint, as the tenor of the inscription on the reverse is unlike that employed by Alá ud din himself, and assimilates closely to the form found in use, immediately subsequent to this epoch, on the coins of Ghiás ud din Bahádur Sháh, of Bengal.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فيروز -
شاه السلطان The most mighty sovereign, Shums ud
dunia wa ud din, Abúl Muzafar Fírúz Sháh, the Sultan.

R.—الإمام المستعصم أمير المؤمنين The Imam Al Mos-
tassem, commander of the faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت - - في سنة اثني و -
سبعماية This silver (was) struck at the capital, (?) in
the year 702.

FIFTEENTH KING (A.H. 616—617; A.D. 1316—1317).

On the demise of Alá ud din, Káfur, who had long possessed all real power in the state, set aside the more mature sons of the late monarch to make way for Umur Khan, a boy of seven years of age, Káfur himself assuming

the office of regent. But little time was allowed to elapse before two of the brothers of the nominal sovereign were deprived of sight, and the life of the third, Mubárik, attempted by the agents of the regent. This prince, however, having found means to buy off his executioners, was in his turn raised to supremacy by the death of Káfur, who was killed by the officers of the foot guard, within thirty-five days of his attainment of the office he so little deserved. Mubárik, it is said, did not assume the title of king until two months subsequent to this event, when his younger brother, in the loss of his eyes, met the fate usually accorded to those scions of the royal blood whom it was desirable to incapacitate from reigning, but whose bare life it was thought advisable to spare.

63.—Silver and Copper. 54½ grs. Unique.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم شهاب الدنيا والدين The most mighty sovereign, Shaháb ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—٧١٦ ابو المظفر عمر شاه السلطان Abul Muzafar Umur Sháh, the Sultan. 716.

Marsden adverts to three or four specimens of a silver coin in the museum of the East India Company, bearing the title of شهاب الدين which he considers as possibly belonging to Shaháb ud din Umur: these coins are not at present to be found. This, however, is the less a matter of regret, as far as the present series is concerned; as, from the tenor of what Marsden has been able to decipher, there is great reason to doubt the accuracy of the attribution suggested, and to suppose that the coins in question must have been the produce of some Bengal mint of a somewhat later period.

SIXTEENTH KING (A.H. 717—721; A.D. 1317—1321).

Mubárik, on proclaiming himself king, seemed determined that the means by which he had been elevated should no longer exist to be used against himself; with this intent, the officers who had assisted in the assassination of Káfur were put to death; and, at the same time, the guard, hitherto under their command, was broken up. Among many other slaves raised to offices of high rank by the new monarch, one Khusrú Khán, a converted Hindú, who was invested with the office of vizir, is noticeable, as having subsequently played a prominent part in the history of the day.

Some of the early actions of Mubárik are mentioned with commendation; but after little more than a twelve months' reign, his real disposition began to display itself in acts of the most unbridled licentiousness.

The favourite Khusrú being appointed to the command of the army in the Dukhun, and being successful in the conquest of Malabar, returned to the capital loaded with plunder; and, at this time, the sultan's habits having well prepared him to receive a master, Khusrú made ready use of the position in which he found himself, and on the 25th of Rubbí ul Awul (third month), of 721 H., succeeded in accomplishing the destruction of his sovereign.

⁴.—Gold. Similar to No. 65. Date wanting. (*Prinsep Cabinet*.)¹¹

64.—Silver. 170 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر مبارک

شاه السلطان بن السلطان The most mighty sovereign,
Kutb ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar Mubárik Sháh,
the Sultan, son of the Sultan.

¹¹ See also Fraehn, Num. Kufi. ex var. *Museis selecti*, Petropoli, A.D. 1823, page 80.

R.—*Area* اسکندر الزمان يمين الخلافة ناصر أمير المؤمنين
Alexander of the age, right hand of the khalifat, supporter
of the commander of the faithful.

Marg. ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع عشر و—
سبعماية This silver (was) struck at the capital, Delhi, in
the year 717.

65.—Silver. 169 grs. V.R. Square.

Obv.—الامام الا عظم خليفه رب العالمين قطب الدنيا و—
الدين ابو المظفر مباركشاه The most mighty Imám,
Khalif lord of the universe, Kutb ud dunia wa ud din,
Abúl Muzafar Mubárik Sháh—

R.—*Area* السلطان ابن السلطان الوائق بالله أمير المؤمنين
the Sultan, son of the Sultan, Al Wásik Billah, commander
of the faithful.

Marg. ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة دارالخلافة في سنة ثمان عشر و—
سبعماية This coin (was) struck at the capital, the seat of
the khalifat, in the year 718.

Whatever Alá ud din's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other khalifs and successors of khalifs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coin No. 65, which displays a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the khalifat," &c., in conjunction with the marginal record of "struck at the capital, Delhí," to be found on the early coinage of the reign, to the style and title of "The most mighty Imám," as a prefix to Mubárik's self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Delhí in this change had arrived at the honors of a second Bagdhad.

66.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs. Date 716.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا والدين

R.—مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان

The date on this coin of 716 A.H., would seem to show that the time fixed by Ferishtah for Mubárik's accession, viz. the 7th Muhurum, or the first Arabic month of 717, is incorrect.¹² It is probable, however, that the author in question may have adopted the day of the incarceration of Umur, and the public avowal of his supercession by the new sovereign, as the proper date of the commencement of the reign, in preference to, or in ignorance of, the exact period when supreme power was first assumed by Mubárik.

67.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs. Date 717.

Obv.—الامام الاعظم قطب الدنيا والدين

R.—ابو المظفر مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان

68.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs.

Obv.—خليفة رب العالمين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

R.—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان الوائى بالله امير المؤمنين

69.—Silver. 55 grs. Square. Date 718.

Obv.—خليفة الله ابو المظفر

Square area قطب الدنيا والدين

R.—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

70.—Copper and Silver. 56 grs. Square. Date 720.

Obv.—Same legend as No. 67.

R.—خليفة الله مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

¹² Dow's Ferishtah, vol. i., page 265.

71.—Copper. Square. 66 grs.

Obv.—الامام الاعظم

R.—قطب الدنيا والدين

72.—Copper. Square. 33 grs.

Obv.—عدل مبارکشاه

R.—بحضرة دارالخلافة

In terminating this notice of the money of Mubárik, it is requisite to make a passing allusion to certain coins of Behádur Sháh, both in reference to the temporary severance of the eastern portion of the kingdom of Bengal from the empire of Hindustan, as well as in the hope of elucidating the enquiry into the due identification of a piece but little dissimilar either in weight or legend, a description of which is given in the note appended to the detail of the coins of Alá ud din. The following extract from Stewart's History of Bengal sufficiently explains the circumstances under which this governor first began to coin money:—

“The emperor (Alá ud din) at the same time appointed a chief, named Behádur Khan, to the government of the eastern districts of Bengal; hoping, by thus dividing that province into two governments, to render it more subservient to the court of Delhí than it had hitherto proved. The capital of the new government was fixed at Sunergong.¹³

“But, in the year 717 H., when the dissolute prince, Mubárik Sháh, succeeded to the throne of Delhí, Behádur, despising the weakness of the imperial councils, arrogated to himself independence; assuming the white umbrella, and ordering the coin to be stamped with his own name, changing the title of Behádur Khan to Behádur Sháh.”—*Stewart's Bengal*, page 79.

The newly erected kingdom thus created did not exist for any considerable period, but was re-attached to Delhí in the reign of Ghiás ud din Tuglák.

¹³ Thirteen miles south-east from Dacca.

These coins are by no means uncommon, but are of inferior workmanship, and generally in imperfect preservation; so much so, that of the five or six specimens at present available for reference, the following legend is the most complete attainable.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بهادر

شاه السلطان بن ك - -

R.—Area

الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين

Marg. ضرب هذه القصة بحضرت - في سنة احدى عشرين
وسبعماية

SEVENTEENTH KING (A.H. 721, RUBBI UL AWUL;
A.D. 1321).

Having succeeded in ridding himself of the single obstacle to his own advance to supremacy, Khusrú proclaimed himself sultan under the title of Násir ud din, and endeavoured to strengthen his hold on the rank he had assumed by the massacre of all the survivors of the family of Alá ud din. He, at the same time, attempted to attach the nobles of the court to his person by loading them with the titles and dignities at his command. This system availed only for a time; and the governor of the Punjáb, advancing with the forces of that province, put an end to the usurpation which had endured somewhat less than five months.

73.—Silver. Unique. (*Original in possession of Col. Stacy.*)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

The most mighty Sultan, Násir ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar.

R.—خسرو شاه السلطان الواثق خير الرحمن ولي امير

Khusrú Sháh, the Sultan Al Wásik Khair al Rehman (relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful), successor to the commander of the faithful.

Marg. ضرب هذه الف - - - عشرين وسبعماية

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